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HISTORY
OF THE
VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON,
WITH
LETTERS TO AND FROM THE FIRST COLONY
NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

BY
EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL.

NEC FALSA DICERE, NEC VERA RETICERE.



ALBANY, N. Y.
JOEL MUNSELL, 82 STATE STREET.
1869.

Virginia

F

RP3

N41R

1870

39647

"I see many likely to be disheartened by the slender growth of the Virginia Plantation, which for the time might have been, not only a safe but a blessed mother of a numerous and thriving generation, branching far, into other colonies, and yet is! I side no where, but entwine Virginia with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected, for her good. Purchas. IV. 1809.

Prayer.

God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost which goes before us in these things, (if not in miraculous fire and cloudy pillars, as when Israel went to Canaan, yet in the light of reason and right consequence of arguments,) come into us and fill us with the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord, I may add the spirit of unity and counsel, that he may vouchsafe to go with us, and we with Him, and after Him to Virginia. Amen, O Amen! Be thou the Alpha and Omega of England's Plantation in Virginia, O God! Purchas. IV. 1826.



P R E F A C E .



IN the month of May, 1868, a memorial was presented by the writer, to the Congress of the United States of America, calling attention to two large folio volumes of manuscript in their Library, containing the Transactions of the Virginia Company of London during the important period of their existence, and if they should deem them worthy of being printed, offering without compensation to annotate and superintend their publication. The communication was read in the Senate, ordered to be printed, referred to

the Committee on Library, and attracted no attention.

Believing that there should be some distinct history of a Company that planted the first permanent English settlement in America, and in 1619 instituted the first representative legislative Assembly, whose members were elected by general suffrage, this work has been prepared, and by the liberality of a true disciple of Aldus, who has a love for historical studies, Mr. Munsell, of Albany, New York, is presented to the public.

The main sources of information have been the manuscript records of the Company, the history of the preservation of which for about two hundred and fifty years, is full of interest.

In one of the old mansions of rural Chelsea, which tradition says was the home of Sir Thomas More, the warm friend of Erasmus, and author of the political romance of Utopia, there dwelt, in 1624, Sir John Danvers, a prominent member of the Virginia Company, who had married the gentle and comely widow Herbert, already the mother of ten children, two of whom were George, the holy poet, and Edward, the philosophical Deist.

After the king resolved to destroy the charter of the Company, an attempt was made to obtain the records by their opponents. The Secretary of the Company, Collingwood, probably under the direction of Deputy Nicholas Ferrar, one day

visited Sir John Danvers, and mentioned that three London merchants had lately called upon him to obtain information. A clerk of Collingwood was immediately secured as copyist, and, to preclude discovery, was locked up in a room of Danver's house, while he transcribed the minutes.

After the transactions were copied on folio paper, to prevent interpolation, each page carefully compared with the originals by Collingwood and then subscribed "Con. Collingwood," Danvers took them to the President of the Company, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. The Earl was highly gratified in the possession of a duplicate copy of the Company's transactions, and expressed it by throwing his arms around the neck of Sir John, and then turning to his brother, said: "Let them be kept at my house at Titchfield; they are the evidences of my honor, and I value them more than the evidences of my lands."

During the same year Southampton died; and Thomas, his son, was heir and successor to the title, and became Lord High Treasurer of England, and lived until 1687. Shortly after the death of the latter, William Byrd of Virginia, the father of Hon. William Byrd of Westover, purchased the manuscript records from the executors of the Earl for sixty guineas.

Rev. William Stith, who subsequently became President of William and Mary College, while living at Varina, on James river, the old settlement of Sir Thomas Dale, better known since the civil war as Dutch Gap, obtained these records from the Byrd library at Westover; and most of the material of his *History of Virginia*, completed in 1746, was drawn therefrom.

Stith's brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, became the first President of the Continental Congress, and while visiting a friend at his seat near Philadelphia, in October, 1775, suddenly died. When his library was sold it was purchased by Thomas Jefferson, and among the books were the manuscript records of the London Company, that had been used by Stith.

The United States having purchased the books of President Jefferson, these manuscripts are now preserved in the library of Congress. They are bound in two volumes, and contain the Company's transactions from April 28, 1619, until June 7, 1624. The first volume contains 854 pages, and concludes with this statement:

"Memorandū that wee, Edward Waterhouse and Edward Collingwood, secretaries of the Companies for Virginia and the Sumer Ilands, have examined and compared the Booke going before, conteyning one hundred seventy-seven leaues from Page 1 to Page 854, with the originall Booke of Courts itself. And doe finde this Booke to be a true and pfect copie of the said originall Courte Booke, sauinge that there is wanting in the copie, of Court of the 20th May, 1620, and the beginning of the Qr Court held 22nd; but as farre as is here entered in this copie doth truly agree with the originall itself.

PREFACE.

V

"And to every page I, Edward Collingwood, haue sett my hand and both of us do hereby testifie as above that it is a true copie.

"Jan. 28, 1623 [1624 N. S.]

"EDW: WATERHOUSE, Secret.

"ED: COLLINGWOOD, Secret."

The second volume contains 387 pages, and is concluded with the following note:

"*Memorand.* That wee Edward Collingwood, Secretary of the Company for Virginia, and Thomas Collett, of the Middle Temple, gentleman, have perused, compared and examined this present booke, begininge att page 1, att a Preparatiue Court held for Virginia the 20th of May, 1622, and endinge at this present page 387 att a Preparatiue Court held the 7th of June, 1624. And wee doe finde that this coppie doth perfectlie agree with the originall books of the Court belonging to the Company in all things, saue that in page 371, the graunt of 800 acres to Mr. Maurice Berkley is not entred, and save that in page 358 we wanted the Lord's letter to Mr. Deputy Ferrar, so that we could not compare itt and likewise sauing that in Page 848 wee wanted the Gouvernor and Counsell's Letter from Virginia in w^{ch} respect I, Edward Collingwood, haue not sett my hand to those three pages, but to all the rest I haue sett my hand severally to each in confirmacon, that they agree truly with the Originalls. And in witness and confirmacon that this booke is a true copy of the Virginia Courts, wee have hereunder loyntly sett our hands the 19th day of June, 1624.

"THOMAS COLLETT.¹

"EDWARD COLLINGWOOD, Secr."

Judgment against the Virginia Company had been pronounced only three days before the last note was written, by that Lord Chief Justice Ley, called by John Milton the "old man eloquent," in a sonnet to the Judge's daughter — "honour'd Margaret."

On the 15th of July the King ordered all their papers to be given to a Commission, which afterwards met weekly at the house of Sir Thomas Smith. The entries in the minutes were damaging to the reputation of Smith and others of the Commission, and it is presumed that no great effort was made to preserve the originals. Repeated searches have been made for them in England, but they have not been discovered.

Prefixed to the minutes of each meeting are the names of the principal lords, knights, gentlemen and merchants present. In some cases more than one hundred are recorded, and it is regretted that the limits of the work prevented the publication of some of these lists, showing the presence of Generals Cecil and Horatio Vere; men of letters like Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Cherbury; eminent

¹ Thomas Collett was a nephew of John and Nicholas Ferrar.

physicians, as Gulston and Anthony ; the poets, John Donne and George Sandys ; and divines, as Samuel Purchas and others.

Besides the journals of the Company, use has also been made of a large folio manuscript volume, containing the letters of the Company and the Colony, with other papers from the year 1621 to 1625, and a smaller folio also in manuscript, but prepared at a later period, containing copies of early papers.

The effort has been to reproduce the actors, and the spirit of the age in which they lived. Allusions in stage-plays, the letters of friends, and notices in the chronicles of the period, have been interwoven with the narrative wherever practicable. No one can read the correspondence of that era without being impressed that the colonization of Virginia interested the public mind of England as much as the gold discoveries and settlement of the Pacific coast has occupied the American mind during the last quarter century.

The return of Gosnold in 1602, with the announcement that he had found a short, direct northern route to America, avoiding the diseases and delay incident to the circuitous voyage by way of the West Indies, created an excitement at the London Exchange akin to the laying of the transatlantic cable in modern days, and was talked over at the fireside, and referred to on the stage.

Marston's play of *Eastward Ho*, written in 1605, and popular for years, act III, scene 2d, introduces a talk about Virginia, in the Blue Anchor Tavern, by Billingsgate :

Seagull. "Come, drawer, pierce your neatest hogshead, and let's have cheare — not fit for your Billingsgate tavern, but for our Virginian Colonel ; he will be here instantly.

Drawer. "You shall have al things fit, sir ; please you have any more wine ?

Spendal. "More wine, Slave ! whether we drinke it or no, spill it, and drawe more.

Seagull. "Come, boyes, Virginia longs till we share the rest of her maiden-head.

Spendal. "Why, is she inhabited already with any English ?

Seagull. "A whole countrie of English is there, man, bread of those that were left there in '79 ; they have married with the Indians, and make 'hem bring forth as beautifull faces as any we have in England ; and therefore the Indians are so in love with 'hem, that all the treasure they have, they lay at their feete.

Scapethrift. "But is there, such treasure there Captaine as I have heard ?

Seagull. "I tell thee, golde is more plentifull there, then copper is with us ; and for as much redde copper as I can bring, I'll have thrise the weight in gold. Why, man, all their dripping pans and chamber-potts are pure gould ; and all the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massie gold ; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold ; and for rubies and diamonds they goe forth in holydayes and gather 'hem by the sea-shore, to hang on their childrens coates, and

sticke in their childrens caps, as commonly as our children weare saffron gilt brooches, and groates with holes in 'hem.

Scapethrift. "And is it a pleasant countrie withall?"

Seagull. "As ever the sunne shin'd on; temperate and ful of all sorts of excellent viands; wild bore is as common there as our tamest bacon is here; venison as mutton. And then you shall live freely there, without sargeants or courtiers, or lawyers or intelligencers. Then for your meanes to advancement, there it is simple, and not preposterously mixt. You may bee an alderman there, and never be scavenger; you may bee any other officer, and never be a slave. You may come to preferment enough and never be a pandar; to riches and fortune enough and have never the more villanie nor the lesse witte. Besides, there wee shall have no more law than conscience, and not too much of eyther; serve God enough, eate and drinke enough, and 'enough is as good as a feast.'

Spendthrift. "God's me! and how farre is it thither?"

Seagull. "Some six weekes saile, no more, with any indifferent good winde. And if I get to any parte of the Coast of Africa, i'll saile thither with any winde; or when I come to Cape Finister, there's a foreright winde continually wafts us, till we come to Virginia."

The interest in America at that period, will also be seen by the perusal of the following

BIBLIOTHECA VIRGINIANA;

A list of books published by direction or during the existence of the Virginia Company:

1608.

A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence.

Written by Captaine Smith, Coronell of the said Collony, to a worshipfull friend of his in England.

London: Printed for John Tappe, and are to bee solde at the Grey-hound in Paules-Church-Yard, by W. W. 1608. Quarto, black letter.

The editor, J. H., in his Preface says: "Some of the bookes were printed under the name of Thomas Watson, by whose occasion I know not unlesse it were the ouerrashnesse or mistakinge of the workemen."

1609.

Virginia Richly Valued,¹ by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour; etc. Written by a Portugall gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action and translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt. At London:

¹ See page 26.

Printed by Felix Kyngston for Matthew Lownes, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bishop's head in Paul's Church yard. 1609. 4to. pp. 180.

A Sermon Preach'd at White Chappel, in the Presence of many Honourable and Worshipfull the Adventurers and Planters for Virginia, 25 April, 1609. Published for the benefit and use of the Colony, planted and to be planted there, and for the advancement of their Christian purpose.

By William Symondes, Preacher at Saint Saviours in Southwarke.

London: Printed by J. Winder for Eleazar Edgar. 1609. 4to.

The Epistle Dedicatory is to the "right noble and worthie Advancers of the Standard of Christ among the Gentiles, the Adventurers for the Plantation of Virginia."

Nova Britannia, Offeringe most excellent Frutes by Planting in Virginia. Exticting all such to be well affected to further the same.

London: Printed for Samuel Macham. 1609. 4to, black letter.

Saules Prohibition Stald, a reproof to those that traduce Virginia.

London, 1609. Small 4to.

A Good Speed to Virginia. Essay 42. 4. "He shall not faile nor be discouraged, till he have set judgement in the earth, and the iales shall wait for his law."

London: Printed by Felix Kyngston for William Welbie, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Grey-hound in Paul's Church-yard, 1609. 4to, Black letter, 15 leaves.

The "Epistle Dedicatorie," to the Lords, Knights, Merchants and Gentlemen adventurers for the plantation of Virginia, is subscribed R. G., and dated "From mine house at the North-end of Sithe's lane, London, April 28, Anno 1609." The writer regretted that he was able "neither in person, nor purse to be a partaker in the businesse."

1610.

A Sermon preached in London, before the right honorable the Lord La Warre, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the Aduenturers in that Plantation at the said Generall his leaue taking of England his native countrey, and departure for Virginea, February 21, 1609. By W. Crashaw. Bachelor of Divinitie and Preacher at the Temple.¹

London: Printed for William Welby, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Swan, 1610.

A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia, of the degrees which it hath received; and means by which it hath

¹ For complete title see pp. 34, 35.

beene advanced; and the resolution and conclusion of his Majesties Council of that Colony, for the constant and patient prosecution thereof, until by the mercies of God it shall re-tribute a fruitfull harvest to the Kingdom of Heaven, and this Commonwealth.

Sett forth by the authority of the Governors and Councillors established for that Plantation. Small 4to, pp. 26.

A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise.

Published by aduise and direction of the Councell of Virginia.

A wood-cut, representing one man planting a tree, and another watering a tree, with a circlet of clouds above, and the word Jehovah in Hebrew, in the centre.

London: Printed for William Barrett, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard. 1610. Small 4to, pp. 68.

1611.

The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-Lawarre, Lord Gouverneur and Captaine Generall of the Colonie, planted in Virginia.

London: Printed by William Hall for William Welbie dwelling in Pauls Church-yard at the Signe of the Swan. 4to, pp. 15.

1612.

The New Life of Virginea: Declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of Nova Britannia.

Published by the authoritie of his Majesties Counsell of Virginea.

London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Welby dwelling at the signe of the Swan in Paul's Church-yard. 1612.

This work is dedicated to "Sir Thomas Smith of London, Governour of the Moscovia and East India Companies, one of his Majesties Counsell for Virginia, and Treasurer for the Colony." In the dedicatory Epistle, signed R. I., it is said that "the malicious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage poets) have whet their tongues with scornfull taunts against the action itselfe, insomuch as there is no common speech, nor publike name of any thing this day (except it be the name of God) which is more wildly depraved, traduced and derided by such unhallowed lips than the name of Virginea."

A Map of Virginea, with a description of the Countrey, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion. Written by Captain Smith, sometimes Governour of the Countrey. Whereunto is annexed the Proceedings of those Colonies since their first departure from England. Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Doctor Russel, Tho: Studley, &c. And the Relations of divers other diligent Observers there present then, and now many of them in England.

By W. S. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612. 4to, pp. 39.

The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginea, since their first beginning from England in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612. With all their Accidents that befell them in their Journies and Discoveries, &c. Unfolding even the fundamental Causes, from whence have sprang so many Miseries to the Undertakers, and Scandals to the Businesse. And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in England, that were Actors in this Business. By W. S. At Oxford, printed by Joseph Barnes. 1612. pp. 109.

For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lavves Diuine, Morall and Martiall, &c. *Alget qui non ardet. Res nostræ subinde non sunt, quales quis optaret, sed quales esse possunt.*

Printed at London for Walter Barre. 1612.

1613.

Good Newes from Virginia.¹ Sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia, resident in England. From Alexander Whitaker, the Minister of Henrico in Virginia. Wherein also is a narration of the present state of that Country, and our Colonies there. Perused and published by direction from that Counsell. And a preface prefixed of some matters touching that Plantation, very requisite to be made knowne. London.

The preface of 34 pages is from the pen of W. Crashaw, a distinguished divine.

A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June, 1614.²

Together With a Relation of the seuerall English Townes and fortes, the assured hopes of that countrie, and the peace concluded with the Indians.

The Christening of Powhatan's daughter and her marriage with an Englishman.

Written by Raphe Hamor the younger, late Secretary in that Colony.

Alget, qui non ardet.

Printed at London by John Beale for William Welby dwelling at the signe of the Swanne in Pauls Church-yard. 1615. 4to, pp. 69.

The dedication is "To the Truly Honorable and right worthy Knight, Sr Thomas Smith, Gouvernour of the East India, Muscouia, North-west passages, Somer Islands Companies, and Treasurer for the first Colony in Virginia."

In the Epistle to the Reader, the same language is used about stage-players as in the Daily Prayer appended to the bloody code of 1612.³

1617.

Purchas, his Pilgrimage. etc.

By Samuel Purchas Parson of St. Martins by Ludgate, London. Una Deus, una veritas.

¹ See page 78. •

² See page 88.

³ See page 64.

London: Printed by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Rose. 1617.

This is the 3d edition, much enlarged, and gives an abstract of Rolfe's relation of Virginia, then in manuscript.

1619.

A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company in the yeere 1619. With the Orders and Constitutions partly collected out of his Majesties Letters Patent, and partly ordained upon mature deliberation by the Treasurer, Counsaill, and Company of Virginia, for the better governing of the Actions and Affaires of the said Company, here in England residing. 1619. 4to.

Another Note of the shipping, Men, and Provisions sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company, in the yeere 1619. Published by his Majesties Counsell for Virginia. 4to, pp. 16.

With the names of the Adventurers, with their several Summs adventured, paid in to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, late Treasurer of the Company for Virginia. 4to, pp. 80. And another list of the Names of some other adventurers. With the summs paid by Order to Sir Baptist Hickee, Knight, and to Sir Edwin Sandys Knight.

1620.

A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia, with the Names of the Adventurers, and Summes adventured in that Action.¹ By his Majesties Councill for Virginia, 22 Junij 1620.

London: Printed by T. S. 1620. 4to.

Declaration by his Majesties Councill for Virginia, touching the present estate of their Colony in that Country dat. 20 Sep. 1620. 4to, pp. 11.

1622.

Virginias God be thanked,² or a Sermon of Thanksgiving on Ps. cvii. 23, for the happie Successee of the Affayres in Virginia, this last yeare.

"Preached by PATRICK COPLAND at Bow-Church in Cheapside, before the Honorable Virginia Company, on Thursday the 18 of Aprill 1622. And now published by the Commandement of the said honorable Company.

"Hereunto are adjoyned some Epistles, written first in Latine (and now Englished) in the East Indies by Peter Pope, an Indian youth, borne in the bay of Bengala, who was first taught and converted by the said P. C. And after baptized by Master John Wood, Dr in Divinitie, in a famous Assembly before the

¹ See page 193.

² See page 377.

Right Worshippfull the East India Company at S. Denis in Fan-Church streete in London December 22, 1616.

"London. Printed by J. D. for William Sheffard and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at the two Grey-hounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royal Exchange. 1622." 4to. Dedication to Va. Co., 3 pp. Sermon, 36 pp. Appendix, 6 pp.

A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles: Or a faithfull and most comfortable Incouragement, for laying of a sure Foundation of all good Learning in our Schooles, and for prosperous building thereupon. More especially for all those of the inferiour sort, and all ruder Countries and Places: Namely for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer Islands, and for their more Speedie attaining of our English Tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withall, for the helping of all such as are desirous speedlie to recover that which they had formerlie got in the grammar schooles: and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetual benefit of these our Nations, and of the Churches of Christ.

London: Printed by Richard Field, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the sign of the Talbot. 1622. 4to, pp. 84.

There is an Epistle prefixed, "to the right Honourable, and right Worshipful the Governour, Councell and Companie for Virginia, and of the Sommer Islands, that beginning with the Lord, and carefully planting and watering of his sacred Religion, they may find a more happy Growth and Increase, and evermore sound and lasting joy to their own Soules. Especially for drawing the poor Natives in Virginia, and all other of the rest of the Rude and Barbarous from Sathan to God."

"With the Judgment and Approbation of Dr. James Usher and Dr. Daniel Featly, March 16, 1620."¹

His Maiesties gracious letter to the Earl of Southampton Treasurer of the Virginia Company commanding the present and setting up of Silke Workes and Planting of Vines in Virginia. Also a Treatise of making silke by John Bonnoel.

London: Felix Kyngston, 1622, 4to. Bonnoel was "silk-worm raiser to the King."²

The Company in their letter to the colonial authorities say: "We now commend this Booke unto you. * * * The paines and industry of the Authour for the benefit of the Plantations (being a member of our Company) are sufficient arguments of his good affection to the action."

A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia; with a relation of the barbarous Massacre in the time of Peace, and League, treacherously executed by the native Infidels upon the English, the 22 of March last. Together with the names of those that were then massacred, that their lawful heirs

¹ For a notice of this book of John Brinsley, see page 273.

² See page 258.

by this notice given may take order for the inheriting of their Lands and Estates in Virginia.¹ And a Treatise annexed, written by that learned Mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs of the North-west Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson. Also a Commemoration of such worthy benefactors as have contributed their Christian Charitie towards the advancement of the Colony. And a Note of the charges of necessarie Provisions fit for every Man that intends to go to Virginia. Published by Authoritie.

London, for Robert Maylbourne. 1622. 4to, pp. 54.

A Sermon upon the VIII verse of the Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.² Preached to the Hon. Company of the Virginian Plantation, 13 Nouemb. 1622.

By John Donne, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of St. Paul's, London. 4to, 1622.

In an introductory note addressed to the Virginia Company the author says: "By your favours, I had some place amongst you before; but now I am an adventurer; if not to Virginia, yet for Virginia: for every man that prints adventures. * * * * But for the printing of this Sermon, I am not only under your invitation, but under your commandment."

It will be noticed in the Orders for first expedition, page 5, Newport's ship is called the *Sarah Constant*, while on pages 15, 17, the ship is mentioned as the *Susan Constant*. The discrepancy is caused by following the manuscript records in the first instance, and the statement of *Purehas* in the other pages. The reader's attention is called to the *List of Errata*, following the Index, made necessary by the absence of the author from his native land while the work was passing through the press. The paragraph, page 377, on Copland's Thanksgiving Sermon, should have followed page 292, and been dated April 10th, 1622.

Weever, in the preface to his work on *Monuments*, published in 1631, says: "I likewise write the orthographie of the old English as it comes to my hands, and if by the copying out of the same it be any manner of ways mollified, it is much against my will, for I hold originals the best."

It has been my aim to retain the spelling of the manuscripts from which I have made extracts, but certain contractions which could not be represented by modern type have necessarily been omitted. The paragraphs extracted are complete, care having been taken to avoid an hiatus.

If a few students of the colonial history of America shall derive any pleasure or information from the perusal of the work, the great object of its publication will have been attained. To those who may think the details are minute and trivial, I can only quote from a letter of Dudley of Massachusetts, written in 1631

¹ See page 334.

² See page 360.

to the Countess of Lincoln, two of whose sons-in-law were among the settlers of that Puritan Colony :

"If any tax me for wasting paper with recording these small matters, such may consider that small things, in the beginning of natural or politic bodies, are as remarkable as greater in bodies full grown."

EDWARD D. NEILL.

DUBLIN, IRELAND, May 1, 1870.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.		Page.
TRANSACTIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF FIRST CHARTER,		1
CHAPTER II.		
THE PERIOD OF THE SECOND CHARTER,		23
CHAPTER III.		
LAST CHARTER; THE BERMUDAS; STAGE PLAYS; LOTTERIES; DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT,		53
CHAPTER IV.		
SIR THOMAS DALE,		73
CHAPTER V.		
POCAHONTAS AND COMPANIONS,		88
CHAPTER VI.		
ROLFE'S RELATION,		106
CHAPTER VII.		
ARGALL'S ADMINISTRATION,		113
CHAPTER VIII.		
LEYDEN PURITANS,		122
CHAPTER IX.		
ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR YEARDLEY,		134

CHAPTER X.		Page.
THE COMPANY UNDER DIRECTORSHIP OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS, . . .		143
CHAPTER XI.		
FIRST YEAR OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP, . . .		192
CHAPTER XII.		
SECOND YEAR OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP, . . .		213
CHAPTER XIII.		
THIRD YEAR OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP, . . .		299
CHAPTER XIV.		
THE GREAT MASSACRE,		317
CHAPTER XV.		
WATERHOUSE'S RELATION, AND LIST OF SLAIN,		384
CHAPTER XVI.		
CONTINUATION OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP, . . .		347
CHAPTER XVII.		
DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY,		385



Virginia Company of London.

CHAPTER I.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST CHARTER.



ENRY, the Earl of Southampton, was not only the patron of Shakespeare and other men of letters, but the friend of those who were engaged in the discovery of distant and unknown lands. He had been disappointed at the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony within the boundaries of what is now North Carolina, and determined to engage in another effort to plant the banner of England in America. Therefore he largely contributed in fitting out the ship Concord, under Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who, accompanied by other gentlemen, in March, 1602, sailed from Falmouth, and, pursuing a direct and northerly route, on the fourteenth of May made land in America, in the forty-third degree of north latitude. Going ashore, Gosnold explored the coast and called, in

consequence of the abundance of fish in the vicinity, one of the headlands Cape Cod, a name still retained. After trading with the Indians, the ship weighed anchor in June and arrived at Exmouth, in England, in the middle of July, bringing much encouragement for planting a colony in that region.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century a pupil of Westminster school one day called upon a relative in the Middle Temple, upon whose table were opened certain books of travel and a map of the world. As various seas and kingdoms were pointed out, the youth resolved that if he ever entered the university he would devote himself to geographical studies. He kept the resolution, and in time Richard Hakluyt became the best informed man in England relative to the climate, races, and productions of the four quarters of the globe. At the time that Sir Francis Drake was fitting out his expedition for America, he was chaplain to the English embassy in Paris, and so great was his interest, he wrote that he was ready to fly to England "with winges of Pegasus," and devote his reading and observation in furthering the work.¹ Subsequently he was consulted by the Muscovy, Greenland, and East India Companies before they engaged in new enterprises. In the minutes of the East India Company, under date of 29th of January, 1601-2, is the following entry:² "Mr. Hakluyt, the historiographer of the East India Company, being here before the committees, and having read unto them out of his notes and books, was requested to set down in writing a note of the princi-

¹ *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, vol. VII, p. xii Introduction.

² *Cal. of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 120.

pal places in the East Indies, and where trade is to be had, to the end that the same may be used for the better instruction of our factors in the said voyage."

The report of Gosnold relative to the new short route, and the country seen, excited a wish to know more, and at Hakluyt's suggestion two vessels, in 1603, were dispatched from Bristol, and those in command lived to return and verify previous statements. The Earl of Southampton, and his brother-in-law, Arundell, baron of Wardour, in 1605 sent out Captain George Weymouth upon a voyage of discovery, who returned about the middle of July well pleased with the Atlantic coast of America.

The next year Hakluyt, then prebendary of Westminster, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and other "firm and hearty lovers" of colonization, petitioned the king for the privilege of colonizing the Atlantic coast of North America, and on the 6th of April, 1606, a patent was sealed for "Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers Knights, Richard Hackluit Clerke Prebendarie of Westminster and Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam and Raleigh Gilbert Esquires, William Parker and George Popham Gents, and diuers others," "to reduce a colony of sondry of o' people into y' part of America comonly called Virginia," between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and occupy islands within one hundred miles of the coast.

The company under the charter was divided; Gates, Somers, Hakluyt, Wingfield, adventurers of the city of London, were called the First Colony, and to begin their first plantation at any point in Virginia between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude, while Hannam, Gilbert, Parker, Popham, and associates, of the town

of Plymouth, were called the Second Colony, and to plant between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of the same latitude.¹

The summer and autumn were occupied by the projectors of the first colony of the company in forming an expedition, and in view of its departure in December, necessary regulations were prepared and are here inserted, copied from the manuscript records in the Library of Congress.²

ORDERS FOR FIRST EXPEDITION.

“Certain Orders and Directions conceived and set down the tenth day of December in the year of the reign of Our Soverain Lord King James of England, France and Ireland the fourth, and of Scotland the fortieth, by his Majesties’ Counsel for Virginia, for the better government of his Majesties’ subjects, both captains, soldiers, marriners, and others that are now bound for that coast to settle his Majesties’ first colony in Virginia, there to be by them observed as well in their passages thither by sea, as after their arrival and landing there.

“Whereas our said Soverain Lord the King by certain articles signed by his Ma’tie, and sealed with his Highness privy seal hath appointed us whose names are underwritten with some others to be his Maj’ties Counsel for Virginia, giving unto us by his Ma’ties warrant under the said privy seal full power and authority in his Ma’ties name to nominate the first several counsellors of the several colonies which are to be planted in Virginia, and to give

¹ *Manuscript Charter in Virginia Records*, 1621-25, in Library of Congress. Large folio.

² *Virginia Manuscripts*. Small folio.

directions unto the several counsellors for their better government there, we having such due respect as is requisite to a service of such importance being assembled together for the better ordering and directing of the same do by this our writing sealed with his Maj'ties seal appointed for this Counsel, ordain, direct, and appoint in manner and form following.

"First, Whereas the good ship called the Sarah Constant and the ship called the Goodspeed, with a pinnace called the Discovery are now ready victualed, rigged, and furnished for the said voyage; we think it fit and so do ordain and appoint that Capt. Christopher Newport shall have the sole charge to appoint such captains, soldiers, and mariners as shall either command, or be shipped to pass in the said ships or pinnace, and shall also have the charge and oversight of all such munitions, victuals, and other provisions as are or shall be shipped at the publick charge of the adventurers in them or any of them. And further that the said Capt. Newport shall have the sole charge and command of all the captains, soldiers, and mariners and other persons that shall go in any the said ships and pinnace in the said voyage from the day of the date hereof, until such time as they shall fortune to land upon the said coast of Virginia, and if the said Captain Newport shall happen to dye at sea, then the masters of the said ships and pinnace shall carry them to the coast of Virginia aforesaid.

"And whereas we have caused to be delivered unto the said Captain Newport, Captain Barthol. Gosnold and Captain John Ratcliffe, several instruments close sealed with the Counsels seal aforesaid containing the names of such persons as we have appointed to be of his Majesties Counsel in the

Good-Speed
See p. 15.

said country of Virginia, we do ordain and direct that the said Captain Christopher Newport, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and Captain John Ratcliffe or the survivor or survivors of them, shall within four and twenty hours next after the said ship shall arrive upon the said coast of Virginia and not before open and unseal the said Instrument and declare and publish unto all the company the names therein set down, and that the persons by us therein named are and shall be known, and taken to be his Maj'ties Counsel of his first Colony in Virginia aforesaid. And further that the said Counsel so by us nominated, shall upon the publishing of the said instrument proceed to the election and nomination of a President of the said Counsel, and the said President in all matters of controversy and question that shall arise during the continuance of his authority where there shall fall out to be equality of voices, shall have two voices, and shall have full power and authority with the advice of the rest of the said Counsel, or the greatest part of them to govern, rule and command all the captains and soldiers, and all other his Majesties subjects of his Colony according to the true meaning of the orders and directions set down in the articles signed by his Maj'tie and of these presents.

“And that immediately upon the election and nomination of the said President, the President himself shall in the presence of the said Counsel, and some twenty of the principal persons, adventurers in the said voyage to be by the said President and Counsel called thereunto, take his corporal oath upon the holy Evangelists of alleageance to our Soverain Lord the King and for the performance of this duty in his place in manner and form following.

“I — elected President for his Majesties Counsel for

the first Colony to Virginia do swear that I shall be a true and faithfull servant unto the King's Ma'tie as a Counselor and President of his Majesties Counsel for the first Colony planted or to be planted in any the territories of America between the degrees of 34 and 41 from the equinoctial line northward and the trades thereof, and that I shall faithfully and truly declare my mind and opinion according to my heart and conscience in all things treated of in that Counsel, and shall keep secret all matter committed and revealed unto me concerning the same, or that shall be treated of secretly in that Counsel until time as by the consent of his Majesties Privy Counsel or the Counsel of Virg'a or the more part of them, publication shall be made thereof, and of all matters of great importance or difficulty I shall make his Majesties Counsel for Virginia acquainted therewith and follow their directions therein. I shall to the best of my skill and knowledge uprightly and duly execute all things committed to my care and charge according to such directions as are or shall be given unto me from his Maj'tie his heirs or successors, or his or their Privy Counsel or his or their Counsel for Virginia according to the tenour, effect and true meaning of his Majesties Letters Patent, and of such articles and instructions are set down by his Highness under his Majesties Privy Seal for and concerning the government of the said Colony, and my uttermost bear faith and alleageance unto the King's Majesty his heirs, and lawful successors, as shall assist and defend all jurisdictions and authorities granted unto his Majesty and annexed unto the Crown as against forrain princes, persons and potentates whatsoever be it by act of Parliament or otherwise, and generally in all things I shall do as a true and faithfull

servant and subject ought to do to his Majesty. So help me God. And after the oath so by him taken, the said President shall minister the like oath to every one, p'ticularly of the said Counsel leaving out the name of President only.

“And finally that after the arrival of the said ship upon the coast of Virginia [and] the Counsellors' names published, the said Captain Newport shall with such number of men as shall be assigned him by the President and Counsel of the said Colony spend and bestow two months in discovery of such ports and rivers as can be found in that country, and shall give order for the present laiding and furnishing of the two ships above named, and all such principal comodities and merchandize as can there be had and found, in such sort as he may return with the said ships full laden with good merchandizes, bringing with him full relation of all that hath passed in said voyage, by the end of May next if God permit.”

Before the ships sailed, there was prepared for the guidance of the officers the following advisory paper, full of valuable suggestions, and perhaps drawn up by Hakluyt, who had been called to prepare similar papers by the East India Company.

ADVICE FOR THE COLONY ON LANDING.

“Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.

“As we doubt not but you will have especial care to

observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the privy seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

“When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches if the difference be not great make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

“When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions, but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable that you make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place for if you make many removes besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

“But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land, and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better for if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground may easily pull you out, and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles the land in boats you shall from

Both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

“And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in Florida by Melindus and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you shall do well to make this double provision, first erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men, with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you, and if you neglect this you neglect your safety.

✓ “When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves and landed your victuals and munitions to the end that every man may know his charge you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts, whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build of which your first work must be your storehouse for victual; the other you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven’s mouth. The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold may undertake of these forty discoverers; ✓ when they do espie any high lands or hills Capt. Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a halfdozen pickaxes to try if they can find

any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the banks' side by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry such as is used here in the Thames, by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

✓“You must observe if you can whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes, if it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be the more easy, and is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run the contrary way toward the East India Sea, for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tauis and Dwina have three heads near joynd, and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Polonian Sea.

“In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it, and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you have any and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them, for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

“Your discoverers that passes over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them, and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass, for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

“And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons, for if they run from you with your shott which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure that they be chosen out of your best markesmen, for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible and thereby will be bould to assault you.

“Above all things do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs, they may deminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any, which may also encourage them to many enterprises. You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town for all the men you have shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year, besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

“Neither must you plant in a low or moist place because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people, for some part of that coast where the lands are low have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs, but if the naturals be strong and clean made it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

“You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you under the fort, and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by, least some ill disposed persons slip away with her.

✓ "You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not marr your trade, for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after, and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever. ✓

"It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person, and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

"And seeing order is at the same price with confusion it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it, that from thence with a few field pieces you may command every street throughout, which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

"You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Capt. Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what comodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise p'ticularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of any thing that may discourage others.

"Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God

the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.”¹

Newport was well known as an experienced mariner, having returned from the West Indies about a year before the above instructions were prepared, and presented to his Majesty two living young crocodiles and a wild boar.² As the preparations for the expedition drew to a close, many prayers ascended for its welfare, and the scholars, divines, statesmen, merchants and laboring men of London heartily adopted the sentiments of the poet Drayton on

THE VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

You brave heroic minds,
Worthy your country's name,
That honour still pursue,
Whilst loitering hinds
Lurk here at home with shame,
Go, and subdue.

And cheerfully at sea,
Success you still entice,
To get the pearl and gold,
And ours to hold
Virginia,
Earth's only paradise.

* * * * *

Britons, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale,
Swell your stretch'd sail,
With vows as strong,
As the winds that blow you.

In kenning of the shore
(Thanks to God, first given)
O you the happy'st men,
Be frolic then,
Let cannons roar,
Fighting the wide Heaven.

Your course securely steer,
West and by South, forth keep,
Rocks, lee shores, nor shoals,
When Eolus scowls,
You need not fear,
So absolute the deep.

And in regions far,
Such heroes bring ye forth,
As those from whom we came,
And plant our name,
Under that star,
Not known unto our North.

¹ *Manuscript Virginia Records.* Small folio. Library of Congress.

² *Howe's Continuation of Stow's Chronicle*, ed. of 1631, p. 871.

And as there plenty grows
Of laurel, every where,
Apollo's sacred tree,
You it may see
A poet's brows
To crown, that may sing there.

Thy voyages attend,
Industrious Hackluit,
Whose reading shall inflame
-Men to seek fame,
And much commend
To after-times thy wit.

The first colony left the Thames on the 19th of December, but owing to unfavorable weather did not sail from the Downs until the first of January, 1606-7. They were placed in three vessels, the *Susan Constant* of one hundred tons, with seventy-one persons, in charge of Christopher Newport the commander of the fleet, the *God-Speed*, of forty tons, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, carrying fifty-two persons, and the *Discovery*, of twenty tons, Capt. John Ratcliffe, carrying twenty persons. The *Mercure Francois*, published at Paris, 1619, says some of the passengers were women and children. Dissensions arose during the voyage, and on the 12th of February John Smith was suspected of mutiny. By the West India route they reached the Virginia coast on the 26th of April, and having entered Chesapeake bay, on that night opened the sealed instructions. After some explorations in the small boats, they planted a cross at Cape Henry on the 29th, and took possession of the country in the name of King James, and on the next day the ships anchored at Point Comfort, now Fortress Monroe. The councillors designated by the London authorities were Edward Maria Wingfield,¹ Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and John Kendall. Wing-

¹ He was the grandson of Sir Robert Wingfield, of Huntingdonshire. His father was Thomas Maria Wingfield, so christened by Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole. *Camden Society Pub.*, No. 43.

field was chosen the first president, a man of honorable birth, and a strict disciplinarian, who had been a companion with Ferdinando Gorges in the wars on the continent of Europe, and one who never turned his face from danger.

Slowly the vessels ascended the James river, and on the 13th of May, 1607, stopped at a peninsula where there was good anchorage and landing, and which could be readily fortified, and in honor of the king called it Jamestown, and all of the council were sworn except the suspected Smith.¹ A fort was commenced in the form of a triangle, with a half-moon at every corner, and intended for four or five pieces of artillery. In accordance with the orders prepared in England, Captain Newport, in a shallop, with five gentlemen, four mariners, and fourteen sailors, ascended the river on a tour of exploration. At one of the Indian villages below the falls of the James was found a lad of about ten years of age, with yellow hair and whitish skin, who was no doubt the offspring of the colonists left at Roanoke by White, of whom four men, two boys, and one young maid had been preserved from slaughter by an Indian chief.²

¹ For the facts relative to the early days of the colony, I am indebted to Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*, edited by Deane, and Capt. Newport's *Relation*, first printed from manuscripts in vol. IV, *Am. Ant. Soc. Coll.*

² Strachey says: "His majesty hath been acquainted that the men, women and children of the first plantation at Roanoke were, by commandment of Powhatan, he persuaded thereto by his priests, miserably slaughtered, without any offence given by the first planted, who twenty and odd years had peaceably lived intermixt with those savages, and were out of his territory." *Hakluyt Publications*, vol. VI, p. 85.

On one of the islets at the foot of the falls, on the 24th, Newport planted a cross with the inscription "Jacobus, Rex, 1607," and his own name beneath. On the 26th, the day before the return of the explorers to Jamestown, about two hundred savages attacked the unfinished fort but were repulsed. Wingfield showed himself an experienced soldier in directing the ordnance of the ships against the savages, and was foremost in danger, an arrow passing through his beard. The colonists had one boy killed, and eleven men wounded, one of whom died. The next Sunday, which was the last day of May, Eustace Clovell, strolling without the fort, was pierced with six arrows, and after eight days died.

Captain John Smith on the tenth of June was permitted to take the oath of councillor and his seat at the board. With the assistance of the sailors, on the 15th the fort was finished.

The twenty-first of June also came on Sunday, and the communion was administered by the devoted chaplain, Rev. Robert Hunt, and that evening Newport gave a farewell supper on board of his ship. The next day the Susan Constant sailed with specimens of the forest, and mineral productions, and reached England in less than five weeks by the new and more direct route, and reported that they had found neither silver nor gold.¹

¹ *Sainsbury*, p. 7. The *Mercure Francois*, vol. I, p. 271, thus speaks of the first expedition :

" Au printemps de ceste annee la colonie (qui deuoit habiter la terre Australe de la Virginie) laquelle estoit de cent hommes avec leur femmes et enfans sous la conduite de Vincfeld s'embarqua dans un nauire que conduisoit Newport lequel sans aucun mauuais rencontre fit sa descente a l'emboucheure d'un fleuve de la Virginie et y fit mettre pied a terre.

Dudley Carleton, in a letter to John Chamberlain dated 18th of August, 1607, writes "that Captain Newport has arrived without gold or silver, and that the adventurers, cumbered by the presence of the natives, had fortified themselves at a place called Jamestown, no graceful name, and doubts not the Spaniards will call it Villiaco. Captain Warman, a special favorite of Sir Walter Cope, had been taken in the act of shipping for Spain with intent to defeat the Virginia attempt. A Dutchman writing in Latin calls the town Jacobolis, but George Percy names it James Fort, which we like best of all because it comes near Chelmsford."

The low situation of the town, with the swamps of the Chickahominy in the rear, was very unfavorable to health, and nearly every day during the month of August graves were dug. Volleys of musketry and the booming of the cannon on the 22d, indicated the honorable burial of "that worthy and religious gentleman, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold," an experienced navigator, and one of the projectors of the colony. •

After his death discord increased, and John Kendall was deposed as councillor, and imprisoned, for creating ill feeling between Wingfield and his associates.

In the month of September the council, chafing under the prudence and military exactness of the president, demanded a larger daily supply for themselves, but he

Vinefeld et les nouveaux habitans (que tascherent a l'appriuoisier avec quelques pauvres Indiens) y commencement a faire un fort et courir a la recherche des minieres, ils trouuent du christol et quelques mineraux qu'ils donnerent a Newport pour apporter en Angleterre ce qu'il fit et ne fut que cinq semaines a son retour : mais ces mineraux se trouuerent estre peu de chose."

refused, on the ground that on the present allowance their supplies would last but thirteen and a half weeks, and it was then ordered that every meal of fish or game obtained should cause the regular porridge to be withheld. After Gosnold's death two gallons of sack and aqua vitæ remained, which the president bunged up, as a reserve for the communion table and great extremities, but the council "longed for to sup up that little remnant! for they had now emptied all their own bottles."¹ At length a plot was formed by Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin, to depose Wingfield and form a triumvirate. On the eleventh of September they brought him before them, Ratcliffe acting as president, and preferred the following frivolous charges: Ratcliffe charged that he had refused him a *penny whistle*, a chicken, a spoonful of beer, and given him bad corn; Smith alleged that he told him he lied; Martin complained that he had been called indolent. After this he was placed on board of the pinnace in the river, and kept as a prisoner.

Wingfield

On December 10th, 1607, Captain Smith ascended the Chickahominy to trade for corn, and during his absence, contrary to the instructions of the company and agreement of the triumvirate, Gabriel Archer was made a councillor.

While Smith was among the Indians two of his men, Emery and Robinson, were killed, but he was treated with great kindness by Powhatan, and after a few weeks he returned to Jamestown, where he was arrested by Archer for allowing the death of his two men, but in the evening of January 8, 1607-8, the day he was indicted, Captain Newport returned from England, who immediately released

¹ *Am. Ant. Soc. Coll.*, IV, p. 82.

from custody both Smith and Wingfield. After the immigrants recovered from the fatigue of the voyage, under Newport's direction they erected within the triangular compass of the fort a store-house and rude church of logs covered with rafters, sedge, and earth, while he proceeded with Smith and Scrivener, a councillor selected from the new comers, to explore the river Pamunkey, and exchange some beads and "cloth very much moth eaten," which had been sold by the East India Company to the governor of the London Company for the Virginia trade. ✓ The traffic with Powhatan was profitable, and he and his whole party "were lovingly entertained," and safely returned to Jamestown on the 9th of March, with the pinnace laden with corn, wheat, beans and peas, to the great comfort of the settlers.

The ship being loaded with iron ore, sassafras, cedar posts and walnut boards, Newport, with Archer and Wingfield as passengers, sailed on the 10th of April from Jamestown, and on the 20th of May, 1608, arrived in England. Wingfield, in answer to the objections urged against him, prepared a statement for the London Company in which he used the following language:

"To the President's and Councel's obiections I saie that I do know curtesy and civility became a Governor. No penny whitle was asked me, but a kniffe whereof I had none to spare. The Indyans had long before stoallen my knife. Of chickins I never did eat but one, and that in my sickness. Mr. Ratcliff had before that time tasted of four or five. I had by my own huswiferie bred aboue thirty seven, and the most part of them of my own poultrye, [of] all which at my coming awaie I did not see three

liveing. I never denied him or any other beare when I had it. The corne was of the same which wee all lived vpon.

“Mr. Smyth in the tyme of our hungar, had spread a rumor in the Collony, that I did feast myself and my seruants out of the common stoare, with intent as I gathered to haue stirred the discontented company against me. I tould him privately in Mr. Gosnold’s tent that indeede I had caused half a pint of pease to be sodden with a peese of pork, of my own prouision for a poore old man which in a sickness, whereof he died, he much desired, and said that if out of his malice he had given it out otherwise, that hee did tell a leye. It was proued to his face, that he begged in Ireland, like a rogue, without a lycence. To such I would not my name should be a companyon. * * * * Mr. Archer’s quarrell to me was because hee had not the choice of the place for our plantation, because I misliked his ley-ing out of our towne in the pinnasse, because I would not swear him of the Councell for Virginia which neyther would I do or he deserve.

“Mr. Smyth’s quarrel, because his name was menconed in the entended and confessed mutiny by Galthropp.

“Thomas Wootton, the surieon, because I would not subscribe to a warrant to the Treasurer of Virginia, to deliuer him money to furnish him with druggs and other necessaries; and because I disallowed his living in the pinnasse, hauing many of our men lyeing sick and wounded in our town, to whose dressings by that means he slacked his attendance.

“Of the same men also Captn Gosnold gaue me warn-ing, misliking much their dispositions, and assured me they would lay hold of me if they could. * * * I cannot

rack one word or thought from myself touching my carriage in Virginia, other than is herein set down.”¹

On the approach of spring the ship that had been separated from Captain Newport, and was commanded by Captain Nelson, supposed to have been lost, made her appearance with seventy immigrants, and with a good supply of provisions. The whole number added to the colony by the arrival of the ships of Newport and Nelson, was one hundred and twenty. Nelson and Newport during the summer returned to England. One writing from London to a friend, on July 7, 1608, says: “Here is a ship newly come from Virginia that hath been long missing. She went out the last year, in concert with Captain Newport, and after much wandering found the port three or four days after his departure for England. I hear not of any novelties or other commodities she hath brought, more than sweet wood.”

In the autumn of 1608 Captain Newport arrived the third time at Jamestown from England, and brought seventy passengers; among others Francis West, brother of Lord Delaware, Raleigh Crashaw, Daniel Tucker, Mrs. Forest, and her maid Ann Burras. The iron ore which he carried back on the return voyage ^{“was”} was smelted, and seventeen tons of metal were sold at £4 per ton to the East India Company.² ✓

¹ Deane's *Wingfield*. *Am. Ant. Soc. Coll.*, vol. IV.

² *Cal. of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 181.



CHAPTER II.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF SECOND CHARTER.

THE prospects of the colony were discouraging at the commencement of the year 1609, and in the hope of improving the condition of affairs, the directors in London applied for a more specific charter, with enlarged privileges. On the 23d of May letters patent were issued to them, authorizing the use of the corporate name of *The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony in Virginia*, and granting that part of America on the sea coast, two hundred miles north, as well as two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, with all the islands lying within one hundred miles. A council and treasurer for the company were designated in the instrument, with the provision that vacancies should be supplied by the voice of the greater part of the company at a meeting called for that purpose. They were also allowed to make and revoke such regulations as would promote the interests of the colony in Virginia.

✓ The fifteenth section was prepared in view of the dissensions of the colonists, and assumptions of the authorities, of which the company had been informed, and provided for a thorough reorganization in Virginia affairs. Its language is as follows :

“And we do also declare, that for divers reasons and considerations as thereunto especially moving, our will and

pleasure is, and we do hereby ordain that immediately from and after such time, as any such Governor or principal officer so to be nominated and appointed by our said Council for the government of the said Colony shall arrive in Virginia, and give notice unto the Colony there resident of our pleasure in this behalf, the government power and authority of the President and Council, heretofore by our former letters patents there established, and all laws and constitutions by them formerly made, shall utterly cease and be determined, and all officers, Governors and ministers formerly constituted or appointed shall be discharged any thing in our former letters patents concerning the said plantation contained, in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding." 4

This charter, as published in the Appendix of Stith's *History of Virginia*, contains the names of hundreds of members of the company, and there is nothing to indicate that all had not belonged from the year 1609.

The manuscript copy of the second charter, from which Stith printed, was sent to Virginia, probably, by Governor Yeardley, and the names of all adventurers up to that period were inserted. Sir Edwin Sandys, early in 1621, presented to the company the outline of a new charter, and in explaining the proposed modifications said :

"To avoide the infinity of names by reason of the multitude of Adventurers (encreasing still more and more, as for that many were already named in a former Patent,) he therefore thought good in this only to name the Lords of the higher howse of Parliament, and add those words compre-

hending in effect all the rest: viz: together with all other Adventurers and Planters in Virginia.”¹

The Lord Mayor of London sent a precept to the great livery companies of the city, urging the desirableness not only of aiding the company, but also the necessity of freeing themselves of a swarm of unhappy persons who infested their streets, the cause of plague and famine, and of enticing them to go to Virginia.² The Merchant Tailors' Company, in answer to the application, contributed 100*l* out of the joint stock of the house, 100*l* by joint subscription, and individual members adventured 587*l*, 13*s*, 4*d* in the enterprise. The influence of the pulpit was also enlisted in behalf of the projected expedition, and on April 25, 1609, William Symonds, preacher at Saint Saviour's in Southwark, delivered a discourse at White Chapel, in the presence of many of the adventurers and planters for Virginia, which was published for the benefit and use of the colony planted and to be planted there, and for the advancement of their Christian purpose.³

A number of publications during the year appeared in behalf of the colony, among others, *Nova Britannia*, and *A Good Speed to Virginia*. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop

¹ *Manuscript Trans. Va. Co.*, Feb. 22, 1620-1.

² In *Herbert's Livery Companies*, vol. I, p. 154, it is said:

“An entry in the Merchant Tailors books, 1609, states a precept to have been received from the Lord Mayor touching this company making an adventure to Virginia. It stated the necessity of getting rid of a swarm of unhappy inmates, who inhabit the city of London, a continual cause of death and famine, and the very continual cause of all the plagues that happen in the kingdom and that they should make exertion to entice them to go to it.”

of York, wrote in the month of June to the Earl of Somerset: "Of Virginia there are so many tractates divine, human, historical, political, or call them as you please as no further intelligence I dare desire."¹

Hakluyt, to attract attention, published a translation from the Portuguese entitled *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida her next neighbour*, etc., and prefixed a letter, "To the Right Honourable, the Right Worshipfull Counsellors, and others the cheerefull adventurers of the aduancement of that Christian and noble Plantation in Virginia," a portion of which is given:

"This worke right Honourable, right Worshipfull and the rest though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yield much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants or what course is best to be taken with them."

After reviewing the testimony of the Spaniards as to the presence of gold and other mines in Florida, he concludes with some statements relative to buffaloes and Indians:

"But what neede I to stand upon forran testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified unto you all at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable Earle of Exeter, how to the southwest of our old fort in Virginia the Indians often informed him, that there was a great

¹ Lodge's *Ill. Brit. Hist.*, vol. III.

melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians have lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoë, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

“But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen, which from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine seuerall times made mention of, and that along from Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward vs, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians liued upon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall have notice of their being neerer vs, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselues within the countrie aboue foure hundred leagues. Moreouer, Vasques de Caronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiages are at large in my third volume) trauelled many leagues among these heards of Oxen, and found them from 33. degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

“To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: Among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by John Ortiz, which liued

twelue yeeres among them, make sufficient prooffe. And the author, which was a gentleman of Eluas in Portugall, employed in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that as well this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Gouvernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could utter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contriued and bloody treasons, here set doune at large, doe evidently proue. They be also as unconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischiefe. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserued paiments. And many times they gaue good testimonies of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, the one shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands.¹ To conclude, I trust by your Honours Worships wise instructions to the noble Gouvernour, the worthy Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be reuerenced and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and

¹ A similar sentiment is found in the alleged letter of Rev. Mr. Stockham in *Smith's History*.

sick relieued, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Salauges preserued, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and idolatrie by little and little utterly extinguished. And here reposing and resting myselfe upon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the enlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Aduenturers and undertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.

“By one publikely and anciently devoted to Gods seruice,
 “and all yours in this so good action,
 “RICHARD HAKLUYT.”

DEPARTURE OF SIR THOMAS GATES AND SIR GEORGE SOMERS.

The first voyage under the second charter of the company, was on a grander scale than the previous expeditions, and the ships contained, in accordance with Hakluyt's suggestion, old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands. With a fair wind, on the first day of June, 1609, a fleet of nine vessels sailed from Plymouth, Sir Thomas Gates¹ being Lieutenant General, and Sir George Somers

¹ Gates had been in the service of the United Netherlands. On April 24, 1608, the States-general passed the following resolution:

“On the petition of Sir Thomas Gates, Captain of a company of English soldiers, commissioned by the King of Great Britain to command with three other gentlemen in the country of Virginia, in colonizing the said country, the Petitioner is therefore allowed to be absent from his company for the space of one year, on condition that he supply his company with good officers and soldiers for the public service.”

Admiral of Virginia, to reside in and govern the colony. The ship *Sea Adventure* carried Gates, Somers, and Captain Newport; the *Diamond* carried Captain Ratcliffe and King; the *Falcon*, Captain Martin and Master Nelson; the *Blessing*, Captain Archer and Master Adams, with six mares and two horses; the *Unity*, Captain Martin and Master Pett; the *Lion*, Captain Webb; the *Swallow*, Captain Moone and Master Somers; a catch, Master Matthew Fitch; and a boat built in the North Colony,¹ Captain Davies and Master Davies. About five hundred colonists were in the different vessels, and the voyage was pleasant until the 23d of July, when a hurricane upset the catch and drove the *Sea Venture* until the 28th, when she was stranded at the Bermudas.

✓ Captain Samuel Argall, a relative of Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company, in the month of July arrived at Jamestown with a ship-load of wine and provisions to trade on private account, contrary to the regulations of the company.² ✓ As none of the vessels under Gates and Somers, which left England before he sailed, had reached their destination, and the settlers were suffering for pro-

Subsequently the States paid him for the time he was absent in Virginia.

The wife and daughters of Gates accompanied him to America, and the former died. His children were Mary, Elizabeth, Anthony and Capt. Thomas, killed by a cannon ball at Rochelle.

¹ This vessel was built at Sagadahoc by the Popham colonists, in 1607. Disheartened by the death of Popham, they all embarked in a ship from Exeter, "and in the new pynnaee the Virginia, and sett saile for England. And this was the end of that northern colony upon the river Sachadehoc." *Hak. Pub.*, vol. VI, p. 180.

² Stith.

visions, they seized his supplies. Many of the colonists at this time had gone to live with the Indians, and eighty had formed a new settlement twenty miles from the fort. Early in August the *Blessing*, Captain Archer, and three other vessels of the fleet, sailed up the river, and soon the *Diamond*, Capt. Ratcliffe, appeared without her mainmast, to be followed in two or three days by the *Swallow* in like condition. The *Sea Venture*, with Gates, Somers, Newport, and some of the principal men, was still missing, and as all the council were dead, and Smith, obtaining the sympathy of the sailors, refused to surrender the control of the colony, the new colonists elected Mr. West, brother of Lord Delawarr, as temporary president. Archer, in a letter from Jamestown written in August, says:

“Inasmuch as the President [Smith] to strengthen his authority accorded with the marriners and gaue not any due respect to many worthy gentlemen that were in our ships, whereupon they generally with my consent chose Master West, my Lord De-la war’s brother their Governor or President de bene esse in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he miscarried by sea then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in England. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his term, but as his authority expired, then to take upon him the sole government with such assistants of the Captains as discreet persons as the colonie afforded.

“Perhaps you shall have it blazoned as a mutinie by such as retaine old malice, but Master West, Master Piercie and all the respected gentlemen of worth in Virginia can and will testifie otherwise upon their oaths. For the King’s patent we ratified, but refused to be governed by

the President that is after his time was expired, and only subjected ourselves to Master West whom we labour to have next President.”¹

Soon after this temporary election George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, one of the original settlers, a brave and honorable man, became president, while West, Ratcliffe, and Martin, were made councillors. Captain John Smith was about this time sent to England to answer for sundry misdemeanors, which, in his account, is softened down to a visit to his native land to obtain surgical aid.²

This year the flying squirrels brought from Virginia were considered great novelties, and much sought after by noblemen for their parks, as well as naturalists for their cabinets. The Earl of Southampton, in a letter to Salisbury, alludes to a conversation he had with King James about these little animals, who, said he, was sure Salisbury would procure him one, and adds, that he need not apologize for alluding to this subject, for “you know so well how he is affected to these toys.”³

¹ *Purchas*, IV, 1734.

² On October 4, 1609 “John Redclyffe comenly called,” wrote to the Earl of Salisbury in substance as follows:

“That Gates, Somers, Newport, and about 150 other persons, had not arrived. . The other ships have all come in, but with great loss of men by the calenture. Capt. Argoll was found in an English ship riding at Jamestown. They found all the counsel dead, but Capt. Smith President who reigned sole Governor, and is now sent home to answer some misdemeanours. George Percy brother to my Lord Northumberland is elected President, and Mr. West brother to Lord De-la-ware of the Counsel with Capt. Martin. One hundred men planted at the Falls, others at work on fort at Pt Comfort.” *Sainsbury, Cal. State Papers, Colonial*, p. 8.

³ *Sainsbury*, p. 8.

The passengers that arrived in the advance ships of the expedition were an ungodly crew, and some of the "unhallowed creatures"¹ soon forsook the country. Twenty-eight or thirty were sent in the ship *Swallow* to trade for corn with the Indians, and instead of returning they stole away with what was the best ship, and some joined themselves to pirates, while others returned to England, having bound themselves to agree in one report and declare that they were driven away by famine. To uphold themselves they told the tragical story of a man pinched with hunger eating his dead wife, which was based upon the fact that a man who hated his wife had secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces. The woman being missed the house was searched and portions of her mangled body found, and the man to excuse himself said that his wife had died, and that want of food had compelled him to save her body for daily food. But a quantity of provisions having also been discovered in the house he was arrested, tried, confessed the murder, and was burned for his fiendish act.² These reports of returned desperadoes dampened the zeal of those who had intended to emigrate, and "the wickedness" that remained in Virginia soon made trouble.

While friends at home were mourning over their supposed death, the passengers of the *Sea Venture* were in good health at the Bermudas, and Gates and Somers were busy in directing the construction of two vessels, the larger of eighty tons. The sabbath was duly observed, and faithful sermons preached by the chaplain, Buck, who had been a student at Oxford. Among the passengers were

¹ *Purchas*, IV, 1757.

² *Ibid.*

John Rolfe and wife, whose child, born at the island, was christened Bermuda. Some Puritans were also in this party, one of whom, Stephen Hopkins, assisted the chaplain in conducting the services.¹ While tarrying there Thomas Powell, the cook of Sir George Somers, was married to Elizabeth Persons, the servant of a Mrs. Horton.

The ships being completed, on May 10, 1610, the party left the island, and in thirteen days the one hundred and forty men and women landed at Jamestown. They beheld the sad spectacle of a few famished settlers. The bell of the frail church was rung, and the emaciated colonists listened to the "zealous and sorrowful prayer" of Chaplain Buck. At the conclusion of the religious service the commission of Sir Thomas Gates was read, and Percy retired from office.

As ship after ship came home laden with nothing but evil reports, and that the Sea Venture was missing, a panic arose among members of the company in London, and many withdrew their moneys. Lord La Warre, a man of courage and principle, "neither whose honor nor fortune needed any desperate medicine," now determined to go in person as Captain-General of Virginia. His example, constancy, and resolution, quickened that which was almost lifeless. On February 21, 1609-10, William Crashaw, preacher at the Temple, and father of the poet, delivered a stirring sermon before his majesty's council and adventurers of Virginia, in view of Lord Delaware's departure.²

¹ *Purchas*, vol. IV, p. 1744.

² The sermon was published with the following title :

"A Sermon preached in London, before the right honourable the Lord La Warre, Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others

At the conclusion of the sermon the preacher addressed Lord De-la-Warr :

“And thou most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasures of England, and with Abraham to go from thy country, and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to go to a land which God will show thee, give me leave to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years ago gained great honour to thy house, but by this action thou augmented it. * * * * Remember thou art a general of English men, nay a general of Christian men ; therefore principally look to religion. You go to commend it to the Heathen, then practise it yourselves ; make the name of Christ honourable, not hateful unto them.”

Five weeks later Lord Delawarr sailed for Virginia with one hundred and fifty persons, mostly artificers, and shortly after he reached Jamestown, under his direction, the following letter was sent to the London Company :¹

of his Maesties Counsell for that kingdom, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation, at the said Generall his leaue taking of England his native countrey and departure for Virginea, February 21, 1609. By W: Crashaw, Bachelor of Divinitie, and Preacher of the Temple. Wherein both the lawfulness of that action is maintained, and the necessity thereof is also demonstrated, not so much out of the grounds of Policie, as of Humanity, Equity and Christianity. Taken from his mouth and published by direction.

“Daniel xii. 3. ‘They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the starres for euer and euer.’ London, Printed for William Welby and are to be sold in Paul's Churchyard at the Signe of the Swan, 1610.”

¹ The letter, copied from the original among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, was published in the Hakluyt Society Publications of 1849.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO THE
LONDON COMPANY.

“Right Honourable and the rest of our very loving friends; — We are not ignorant how divers perplex and jealous eies mae looke out, and keepe more then friendly espiall over this our passive and misconceived bewsines, and now (more especially, haply, then at any other time), in these our early dayes, and after the aspersions of so many slanderous and wandering discourses, which have bin scattered by malignant and ill-disposed people against it; for which we have conceived it essentiall with the birth of the worke itself, to give up unto your noble knowledges the truith of the state of the same, and of some consequences most materiall following it, since it tooke protection and fostering from us.

“You shall please then to know, how the first of April 1610, in the good shipp the De-la-warr, admirall, accompanied with the Blissing of Plinmouth, viz-admirall, and the Hercules of Ry, reere-admirall, we weyed from the Cowes, getting out of the Needles, and with a favourable passadge holding consort; the 12th day we fell with the Treseras, and recovered that evening (within three leagues) the westermost part of St. George’s Island, where we lay that night becalmed; but the next morning with the sunn-rise did the wind likewise rise, west and west-by-South, a rough and lowde gale, at what time the master of the Reere-admirall told me of a roade fitt for that winde at Gratosia, whereupon I willed him to go before and I would follow, and so we stood for that roade; but it was my fortune to lead it in, where we came to an ancor at fortie

fathom, when it blew so much winde presently, that our ancor came home, and we were forced to sea againe: the same time the Blissing was compeld to cutt her cable at haulfe, for in the weying of it the pale of her capstan brake, and dangerously hurte 12 of our men; the Hercules was likewise forced from the roade, and brake her ancor; yet the next day we mett altogether againe. The 15th we lost sight of the Hercules, betweene the Treceras and Gratirosa, and we saw her no more untill the 5th of June, at what time we made land to the southward of our harbour, the Chesiopiock Bay, where, running in towards the shoare, steering away nor-west, before noone we made Cape Henry, bearing nor-west by west; and that night came to an ancor under the Cape, where we went ashoare, as well to refresh ourselves as to fish, and to sett up a cross upon the pointe (if haply the Hercules might arrive there) to signify our coming in.

“Whilst we were a fishing, divers Indians came downe from the woods unto us, and with faire intreatye on both sides, I gave unto them of such fish as we tooke, which was good store, and was not unwelcome unto them, for indeed at this time of the yeare they live poore, their corne being but newly putt into the ground, and their old store spent; oysters and crabbs, and such fish as they take in their weares, is their best releefe. As we were returning aboard againe, our master discried a sayle close by the pointe at Cape Henry, whereupon I commaunded him to beare up the helme, and we gave it chase, when within an hower or a little more, to our no little [joy], we made her to be the Hercules, our reereadmirall, whome we had now lost . . . weekes and odd dayes; and this night (all praise be to God for it) came to an ancor under Pointe Comfort;

from whence the captaine of the forte, Co[lonel] James Davies, repaired unto us, and soone had unfolded a strange [narra]tion of a double quallitie, mixed both with joy and sorrow. He let us to understand first (because thereof I first inquired) of the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers, in 2 pinnisses, with all their company safe from the Bermudas, the 21 of May (about some fortnight before our now coming in) whome, he tould us, were now up our river at James Town. I was heartily glad to heare the happines of this newes; but it was seasoned with a following discourse, compound of so many miseries and calamities (and those in such horrid chaunges and divers formes, as no story, I believe ever presented the wrath and curse of the eternall offended Maiestie in a greater measure. I understood moreover, by reason I saw the Virginia to ly then in Roade, before the pointe ridg, and prepared to sett sayle out of the river, how that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers were within a tide or two coming downe againe, purposing to abandon the countrie, whilst they had meanes yet lefte to transport them and the whole company to Newfoundland.

“For most true it is, the straunge and unexpected condition and . . . in which Sir Thomas Gates found the colony, gave him to underst[and] never was there more neede of all the powers of judgement, and . . . knowing, and long exercised vertue, then now to be awak calling upon him to save such whome he found so fo . . . as in redeeming himself and his againe from falling into the ties. For besides that he found the forte unfurnished (and that and many casualties) of so lardge an accompt and number as he expected, and knew knew came alonge the last yeare, trained

fleete with himself: so likewise found he as empty and unfurnished a entering the towne. It appeared rather as the ruins of some auntient [for]tification, then that any people living might now inhabit it: the pallisadoes he found tourne downe, the portes open, the gates from the hinges, the church ruined and unfrequented, empty howses (whose owners untimely death had taken newly from them) rent up and burnt, the living not hable, as they pretended, to step into the woodes to gather other fire-wood: and it is true, the Indian as fast killing without as the famine and pestilence within. Only the blockhouse (somewhat regarded) was the safetie of the remainder that lived; which yet could not have preserved them now many days longer from the watching, subtile, and offended Indian, who (it is most certaine) knew all this their weakness, and forbare too timely to assault the forte, or hazard themselves in a fruitles warr on such whome they were assured in short time would of themselves perish, and being provoked, their desperate condition might draw forth to a valiaunt defence; yet were they so ready and prepared, that such whome they found of our men stragled single beyond the bounds, at any time, of the blockhouse, they would fiercely chardge (for all their peices), as they did 2 of our people not many dayes before Sir Thomas Gates was come in, and 2 likewise they killed after his arrivall 4 or 5 dayes.

“But that which added most to his sorowe, and not a litle startled him, was the impossibilitie which he conceived (and conceived truly) how to amend any one whitt of this. His forces were not of habilitie to revenge upon the Indian, nor his owne supply (now brought from the Bermudas) sufficient to relieve his people; for he had

brought no greater store of provision. (as not jealous that any such disaster could have befallne the colony) then might well serve 150 for a sea voyage; and at this time of the yeare, neither by force (had his power bin sufficient) nor trade, might have amended these wants, by any help from the Indian: nor was there any meanes in the forte to take fish, for there was neither a sufficient seave to be found, nor any other convenient netts; and, to saye true, if there had, yet was there not aneye sturghion come into the river.

“ All these considered, he then entered into consultation with Sir George Summers and Capt. Newporte, calling unto the same the gentlemen and counsaile of the former government, intreating both the one and the other to advise with him, what was to be don: the provision which they both had aboard, both Sir George Summers and Capt. Newporte, was examined and delivered, how it being rackt to the uttermost, extended not to above 16 dayes, after 2 cakes a day. The gentlemen of the towne (who knew better of the countrie) could not give them any hope, or wayes how to recover oughts from the Indian. It soone then appeered most fitt, by a generall approbation, that to preserve and save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the countrie, and accommodating themselves the best that they might in the present pinnasses then in the roade (as, namely, in the Discovery, and the Virginia, the 2 brought from, and builded at, the Bermudas, the one called the Deliveraunce, of about 70 tonn, and the other, the Patience, of about 30 tonn), with all speed convenient, to make for the Newfoundland, where, it being then fishing time, they might

meete with many English shipps, into which, happily, they might disperce most of the company.

"This consultation taking effect the 7th of June, Sir Thomas Gates having appointed every pinnass his complement and nomber, and delivered likewise thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, caused every man to repaire aboard: and bycause he would preserve the towne (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatened, his one company he caused likewise to be cast ashoare, and was himself the last of them, when, about noone, giving a farewell with a peale of small shott, he sett sayle, and that night, with the tide, fell down to an island in the river, which our people here call Hogg Island; and the next morning the tide brought them to another island, which they have called Mulberry Island, at what time they discovered my long boat. For I, having understood of the resolution by the aforesaid pinnas, which was some 4 or 5 days come away before, to prepare those at Pointe Comforte, with all expedition I caused the same to be man'd, and in it with the newes of our arrivall, dispatched my letters by Captaine Edward Brewster¹ to Sir Thomas Gates, which, meeting to[gether]

¹ Among the adventurers' names appended to the Company's charter dated May 23, 1609, are those of William Brewster and Edward, his son. William Brewster was at that time a man of large family. His father, whose name he bore, had been postmaster at Scrooby, and soon after his death he was appointed to the same position, which was held, until non-conformity led him to leave his native land. About the year 1609 William Brewster went to Holland.

Edward was employed by Lord Delaware, and, as will be seen in another chapter, was banished from Virginia by the high-handed Argall. In August, 1619, Secretary Naunton, referring to the subsequent Elder

before the aforesaid Mulberry Island, the 8th of June aforesaid, upon the receite of our letters, Sir Thomas Gates bore up the helm againe, and that night (the wind favourable) relanded all his men at the forte; before which, the 10th of June being Sonday, I brought my shipp, and in the afternoon went ashoare, where after a sermon made by Mr. Buck, Sir Thomas Gates his preacher, I caused my commission to be read, upon which Sir Thomas Gates delivered up unto me his owne commission, both patents, and the counsell seale: and then I delivered some few wordes unto the company, laying some blames on them for many vanities and their idlenes, earnestly wisshing that I might no more find it so, leaste I should be compeld to drawe the sworde of justice, to cut of such delinquents, which I had much rather drawe in their defence, to protect from enemies; heartening them with the knowledge of what store of provisions I had brought for them; and after, not finding as yet in the toune a convenient house, I repaired aboard againe, where the 12th of June, I did constitute and give places of office and chardge to divers captaines and gentlemen, and elected unto me a counsaile, unto whome I administred an oath of faith, assistance, and secresy: their names were these:—

“Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, Lieutenant Gen[eral].

“Sir George Summers, Knight. Admirall.

“Capt. George Percey, Esq.

of New Plymouth, writes: “Brewster frightened back into the low countries his son has conformed and comes to church.” The authorities upon which this note is based are *Bradford's Plymouth Plantation*, and the *Calendars of State Papers*, and *Hunter's Founders of Plymouth*. Hunter seems not to have known that the father of the May-Flower emigrant was also named William, and postmaster at Scrooby.

"Sir Ferdinando Wenman, Knight M[arshal].

"Capt. Christopher Newport,

"William Strachey, Esq, Secretary [and Recorder?]

"A likewise I nominated Capt. John Martin Master of the B workes for steele and iron: and Capt. George Webb, Serjeant of the forte: and Mr. Daniell Tucker and Mr. Robert Wild, clarkes of the store.

"Our first care was to advise with our counsaile for the obtaining of such provisions of victualls, for estore and quallitie, as the countrey afforded for our people. It did not appeare unto us that any kind of flesh, deere, or what els, of that kind could be recovered from the Indians, or to be sought in the countrey by us; and our people, together with the Indians (not to friend), had the last winter destroyed and kild up all our hoggs, insomuch as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed), there was not above one sow, that we can heare of, left alive; not a henn or chick in the forte (and our horses and mares they had eaten with the first); and the provision which we had brought concerning any kind of flesh was little or nothing; whereupon it pleased Sir George Summers to propose a voyage, which, for the better releife and good of the colony, he would perform into the Bermudas (which, lying in the height of. 32 degrees and 20 minutes, 5 degrees from our bay, may be some seve[n] skore leagues); from us, or thereabouts; reckoning to every degree that lyes nor-west and westerly, 28 English leagues); and from thence he would fetch 6 monthes' provision of flesh and fish, and some live hoggs, of which those islands (by their owne reporte, however, most daungerous to fall with) are marveilous full and well stored; whereupon, well approving and applauding a motion relishing of so faire hopes and much goodness, we

gave him a commission the 15th of June, who in his owne Bermuda pinnas, the Patience accompanied with Capt. Samuell Argall, in the Discovery (whome we sware of our counsaile before his departure), the 19th of June fell with the tide from before our towne, whome we have ever since accompanied with our hearty prayers for his happy and safe returne.

“And likewise bicause at our first coming we found in our owne river no store of fish after many tryalls, we dispatched with instructions the 17th of June, Robert Tindall, master of the Delawarr, to fish unto all along betweene Cape Henry and Cape Charles within the bay, who the last of the same returned unto us againe, but mett with so small a quantitie and store of fish, as he scarce tooke so much as served the company that he caried forth with him. Nor were we in the meane while idle at the forte, but every day and night we hayled our nett sometimes a dozen times one after another, but it pleased not God so to bless our labours, that we should at any time take one quarter so much as would give unto our people one pound at a meale a peice (by which we might have better husbanded and spared our peaz and oatmeale), notwithstanding the greate store we now saw dayly in our river.

“Thus much in briefe concerning our voyadge hether, our meeting with Sir Thomas Gates heere, and our joynt cares and indevours since our arrivall; nor shall we be fayling in our parte to do the uttermost that we may for the happy structure and raysing againe of this too much stooped and dejected imployment. It rests that I should now truly deliver unto yee (right honourable and rest of our good friends) somewhat our opinion, or rather better judgement, which hath observed many things, and those

objected cleare to reason, most beneficiall concerning this countrie. And first, ~~we~~ we have experience, and our owne eye witnes, how young soever we are to this place, that no countrie yealdeth goodlier corne or more manifold increase, large feildes we have as prospects houerly before us of the same, and those not many miles from our quarter (some whereof, true it is, to quitt the mischeivous Indian, and irreconsilable for his late injuries and murthering of our men, our purpose is to be masters of ere long, and to thresh it out on the flores of our barnes when the time shall serve). Next, in every boske and common hedge, and not farr from our pallisado gates, we have thousands of goodly vines running along and leaning to every tree, which yeald a plentifull grape in their kind; let me appeale, then, to knowledge, if these naturall vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull vinearoones, whether we might not make a perfect grape and fruitfull vintage in short time? Lastly, we have mad triall of our owne English seedes, kitchen hearbes, and rootes, and find them no sooner putt into the ground then to prosper as speedily and after the same qualitie as in England.

“Only let me truly acknowledge they are not an hundred or two of deboisht hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury and leysure, ill provided for before they come, and worse governed when they are here, men of such distempered bodies and infected mindes, whome no examples dayly before their eyes, either of goodness or punishment, can deterr from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the carpenters and workers in this so glorious a building.

“But (to delude and mock the bewsines no longer) as a necessary quantity of provisions for a yeare at least must

be carefully sent with men, so likewise must there be the same care for men of quallitie, and paines taking men of artes and practises, chosen out and sent into the bewsines, and such are in dew time now promised, sett downe in the scedule at the end of our owne approved discourse, which we have intituled 'A true and sincere declaration of the purpose and end of our Plantation begonn in Virginia,' &c.

" And these two, such men and such provision are like enough to make good the ends of the ymployment in all the waies both for re[pu]tation, search and discovery of the countrie, and the hope of the South Sea, as also to returne by all shippes sent hither many com[mo]dities well knowne to be heere, if meanes be to prepare them. W[here] upon give me leave, I beseech yee, further to make inference, th[at] since it hath bin well thought on by yee to provide for the gove[rnment] by chaunging the authoritie into an absolute command (indeed . . . virtuall advancement to these like bewsinesses and m . . . company us) of a noble and well instructed leifet[enant] . . . of an industrious admirall, and other knights and gen[tlemen], and officers, each in their severall place of quallitie and implo[yment], if the other two, as I have saide, be taken into dew accompte . . . valewed as the sinewes (as indeed they be) of this action (without w[hich] it cannot possible have any faire subsisting, however men ha[ve] belyed both it and themselves heretofore) then let no rumor of the poverty of the countrey (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those ellimentall seedes which could produce so many goodly birthes of plenty and increase, yea, and of better hopes as of any land under the heavens unto whome the sunn is no neerer a neighbour; I say, let no imposture,

rumor then, nor any fame of some one or a few more chaunceable actions interposing by the way or at home, wave any mans faire purpose hetherward, or wrest them to a declininge and falling of from the bewsines.

“For let them be assured, as of the truth itself, these premisses considered, looke what the countrie can afforde, which may, by the quantitie of our men, be safely and conveniently explored, search[ed,] and made practise of, these things shall not be omitted for our p[art], nor will be by the lievetenant generall to be commaunded; nor our commaunds receaved (as in former times) with unwillingnes or falcenes, either in our people’s going forth, or in execution, being for each one in his place, whither commaunder, overseer, or labourer.

“For the causes of these idle and restie untowardnes being by the authoritie and unitie of our government removed, all hands already sett to it; and he that knew not the way to goodnes before, but cherisht singularitie and faction, now can beate out a path himself of industrie and goodnes for others to trade in, such, may I well say, is the power of exemplar vertue. Nor would I have it conceived that we would exclude altogether gentlemen, and such whose breeding never knew what a daye’s labour meant, for even to such, this countrie I doubt not but will give likewise excellent satisfaction, especially to the better and stayed spirritts; for he amongst us that cannot digg, use the square, nor practise the ax and chissle, yet he shall find how to imploy the force of knowledge, the exercise of counsell, and the operation and power of his best breeding and quallitie.

“And thus, right honourable and the rest of our very good friends, assuring yee of our resolution to tarry God’s

mercy towards us, in continuing for our parte this plantation, I only will intreate yee to stand favourable unto us for a new supply in such matters of the two-fold phisicke, which both the soules and bodies of our poor people heere stand much in neede of; the specialties belonging to the one, the phisitions themselves (whome I hope you will be carefull to send unto us) will bring along with them; the particularities of the other we have sent herein, inclosed unto us by Mr. Dr. Boone,¹ whose care and industrie for the preservation of our men's lives (assaulted with straunge fluxes and agues), we have just cause to commend unto your noble favours; nor let it, I beseech yee, be passed over as a motion slight and of no moment to furnish us with these things, so much importuning the strength and health of our people, since we have true experience how many men's lives these phisicke helpes have preserved since our coming in, God so blessing the practise and diligence of our doctor, whose store is nowe growne thereby to so lowe an ebb, as we have not above 3 weekes phisicall provisions, if our men continew still thus visited with the sicknesses of the countrie, of the which every season hath his particular infirmitie reighning in it, as we have it related unto us by the old inhabitants; and since our owne arrivall, have cause to feare it to be true, who have had 150 at a time much afflicted, and I am perswaded had lost the greatest part of them, if we had not brought these helpes with us.

“And so concluding your farther troubles, with this only remembrance, that we have, with advise of our coun-

¹ Dr. Bohune was afterwards made Physician-General of the colony, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

sell, conceived it most fitt to detaine yet a while, for all good occasions, the good shipp the Delawarr, to which we hope yee wil be no whitt gainsaying: we cease with unnecessary relations to provoke yee any farther.

“JAMES TOWNE, July 7th, 1610.

“THO. LAWARRE. THO. GATES. FERD. WENMAN.
GEORGE PERCY. WILLIAM STRACHEY.”

On the 19th of June, Sir George Somers,¹ “the good old gentleman, out of his love and zeal not motioning but most cheerfully and resolutely,” says the dispatch of Delaware to Earl of Salisbury, reembarked in his cedar pin-nace of thirty tons to procure provisions, accompanied by another vessel in charge of Captain Argall.

Argall says they first steered northward, and at times did “fish for cods and hollibutts,” and that he was ordered on 26th of July, by Sir George Somers, “to steer for the river Sagadahoc.” After this they were separated, and Argall, on the 27th of August, “came to an anchor in nine fathoms in a very great Bay,” called by him Delaware, and on the last of the month reached Cape Charles.²

¹ Sir George Somers was living at ease, and a member of Parliament, before he was appointed for Virginia. The first time that Virginia was mentioned in debate in that body, was on February 14, 1609–10, on the question whether his seat would be made vacant by his going to Virginia.

Sir George Moore in the course of the discussion remarked “That Sir George Sommers ought not to be removed. No disgrace but a Grace to be Governour in Virginia.”

² Strachey says: “Captain Argoll in his returne from the search of the Bermudas, anno 1610, after he had lost Sir George Somers, 28 July, in a dangerous fogg, well beaten to and fro, fell with the mayne, standinge for Cape Cod, and made good from 44 degrees what Captayne

✓ Somers, after parting from Argall, reached the Bermudas, where his frail body soon succumbed to the hardships he had encountered, and after his death his nephew, Captain Matthew Somers, embalmed the body and brought it to England, and the remains were interred with military honors at Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire.

About Christmas of this year Captain Argall, in the *Discovery*, sailed up the Potomac river, trading at Matchopongo, the residence of Jopassus, a brother of Powhatan, and recovered an English boy named Henry Spilman.¹ The next February, with some seamen, aided by Captain Edward Brewster with a small land force, by order of Lord Delaware, he attacked the chief of the *Wapaskoyaks* for breach of contract, and burned two of his towns. 17

Sir Thomas Gates had been sent to England to notify the Company of the condition of affairs, and after consulting with him whether they should abandon the attempt to plant a colony, they took heart again, and resolved to send a fresh supply of men and provisions.

Bartho. Gosnoll and Captayne Waymouth wanted in their discoveries * * * * and in the latitude of 39 discovered another goodly bay, into which fell many tayles of faire and large rivers, and which might make promise of some westerly passage; the Cape whereof in 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ he called Cape Lawar." *Hakluyt Soc. Pub.*, vol. VI, pp. 42, 43.

Argall noted the gulf stream at this time. He says that the sailors "in their watch did see a race and that ship did drive apace to the northward when she had not a breath of wind." He returned and anchored at Cape Charles on 31st of August. *Purchas*, IV, 1758.

¹ "Recovered an English boy called Henry Spilman, who had lived amongst them one whole yeare, and despayring of ever seeing his native country his father's howse, for he was descended of a gentile family." Strachey in *Hak. Pub.*, vol. VI, p. 39.

A dispatch to Winwood, Ambassador at the Hague, dated 15th of December, 1610, says: "So soon as the Hector now ready to hoist saile shall be set forth of this haven, towards Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates will hasten to the Hague, where he will conferr with the States about the overture of Sir Noel Caron hath here made for joining us in that Colonie."

While Gates was in Europe, the health of Delaware failed, and on March 28th, 1611, accompanied by Dr. Bohune and Capt. Argall, he went to the Western Isles to recruit, and from thence to his native land. His unexpected arrival at home "wrought a great damp of coldness in the hearts of all the adventurers but one spark of hope remained," for before the illness of Delaware was known, Sir Thomas Dale had sailed with three ships for Jamestown, with men and cattle. In June, 1611, Sir Thomas Gates sailed again with six ships, his wife and daughters, three hundred men, and one hundred cows, besides other cattle, and provisions of all sorts. The wife of Gates died on the passage, but the expedition safely arrived in August, and was so unexpected, that Captain Davies, in command of the stockade at Cape Henry, supposed it was a hostile fleet, and word was sent up the river to Sir Thomas Dale to prepare to resist their advance.

The colony now numbered seven hundred persons. Gates took possession of the site of Hampton, "a delicate and necessary seat for a city."² Percy was in command

¹ *Winwood*, III, 239.

² "Pochins one of Powhatan's sonnns at Kecoughtan, and was the young weroance there at the same tyme when Sir Thomas Gates, Lieutenant General took possession of yt. Yt is an ample and faire countrie in-

Point to the
See pp. 37-2

at Jamestown, and Dale had pushed up the river to lay the foundations of Henrico.

In the autumn the ship *Star*, of three hundred tons burthen, fitted and prepared in England with scupper holes to take in masts, sailed from Jamestown with about forty fair and large pines.¹ Chamberlain writes from London to Sir Dudley Carleton, on December 18, 1611:

“Newport the Admiral of Virginia is newly come home, and brings word of the arrival there of Sir Thomas Gates and his company, but his lady died by the way in some part of the West Indies. He hath sent his daughters back again, which I doubt not is a piece of prognostication that himself means not to tarry long.”²

After this Newport was chosen one of the six masters of the Royal Navy, and was engaged by the East India Company to escort Sir Robert Sherley to Persia.³

deed * * * * and is a delicate and necessary seate for a citty or chief fortification, being so neere within three miles by water the mouth of our bay, and is well appointed a fitt seat for one of our chiefe commanders since Point Comfort, being (out of all dispute) to be fortified to secure our townes above.” Strachey in *Hak. Pub.*, vol. VI, pp. 60, 61.

¹ *Hak. Pub.*, vol. VI, p. 130.

² Chamberlain in *Court and Times of James First*, vol. I, p. 154.

³ Howe's continuation of *Stow's Chronicles of England*, p. 1018.



CHAPTER III.

LAST CHARTER; THE BERMUDAS; STAGE PLAYS; LOTTERIES;
DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT.

THE return of the nephew of Somers and others, with their enthusiastic descriptions of the beauty and fertility of the Bermudas, gave an impetus to the colonization of America. The General Company sold out their rights to one hundred and twenty of their members, who proceeded to procure the shipping, men and provisions for the settlement of these isles of the sea.

At first the company supposed the Bermudas were within their domain, but upon ascertaining that they were beyond the prescribed boundaries of their patent, application was made for a new charter, which was sealed on March 12, 1611-12, and conveyed to them all islands within three hundred leagues of the coast between 30th and 41st degree of north latitude.

It further provided for quarterly meetings of the company, to be styled and called *The four Great and General Courts of the Council and Company of Adventurers for Virginia*," and granted the power to erect lotteries.

The next month the Plough sailed for the Bermudas with colonists, where in July they safely arrived. The Earl of Southampton wrote to the King that the ships of the company had possessed the islands, and that the

Spaniards, dismayed at the frequency of hurricanes, durst not adventure there, but call it *Dæmoniorum Insulam*, and that the English merchants had sent home "some amber and seed pearls which the devils of the Bermudas love not better to retain, than the Angels of Castile to recover."¹

In the summer of 1613 a vessel brought to England from the Island "some quantity of pearl and between twenty and thirty pounds of ambergris worth nine hundred pounds," and the next ship returned with a larger supply.²

Sir Dudley Carleton, on October 27th, received a letter from London which, speaking of the Bermudas, said :

¹ Sainsbury, *Cal. State Papers*, Col. Series, p. 14, and *Green's State Papers*, 1611-18. The letter of Shakespeare's patron recalls several passages in the play of the *Tempest*, written not long after, particularly the colloquy of Prospero and Ariel.

Pro.	Of the king's ship, The mariners say, how thou hast dispos'd And all the rest o' the fleet?
Ari.	Safely in harbour Is the king's ship; in the deep nook where once Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew From the still-vex'd Bermoothes, there's she hid.

Crashaw, a London divine, in the epistle dedicatory to an account of the Bermudas, printed in 1613, says :

"Who did not thinke till within these foure yeares, but that those Islands had been rather a habitation of Diuells, than fit for man to dwell in? who did not hate the name when hee was on Land, and shunne the place when he was on the Seas? But behold the misprision and misconceits of the world! For true and large experience hath now told vs, it is one of the sweetest Paradises that be upon the earth."

² *Court and Times of James I*, I, 263.

"A piece of ambergris found as big as the body of a giant the head and arms are wanting but so foolishly handled that it brake in pieces. The largest piece brought home was not over 68 ounces which sells for 12 or 15 shillings an ounce more than smaller pieces."¹

On the 28th of July, 1614, the Virginia sold to the East India Company two boxes of ambergris at 3*l.* 1*s.* and 3*l.* 2*s.* per ounce.²

The interests of the Company led them to petition for a separate charter, and on the 29th of June, 1614, there was a grant sealed to Henry, Earl of Southampton, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, Will., Earl of Pembroke, Will., Lord Paget, Will., Lord Cavendish, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Robt. Rich, Sir Thos. Smythe, and others, of incorporation, by the name of the Governor and Company of the City of London, for the plantation of the Somers Islands, with sole government and power to make laws, conformable to the laws of England.³

The following papers copied from the manuscript transactions of the Company, pertain to this period :

PETITION OF CAPTAIN SOMERS.

"To the King's moast Excellent Mat'y

"The Humble Petition of Captayne Mathew Sommers

"Petitioner in the King's Bench

"Humbly sheweth unto your most Excellent Mat'y that whereas S^r Geo : Summers Knight, being one of the first and

¹ *Sainsbury State Papers*, p. 15.

² *Cal. State Papers, East India*.

³ *Sainsbury*, p. 17.

chiefe of the Plantation of Virginia as appeareth by your Ma'tys Letters Pattents adventured therein 1000 and odd pounds and being forced by fowle weather to saue himselfe and companie sought an Iland called the Barmudais, where he left his shippe and soone after his life, yo^r humble petition^r his imediate heire, and there in person built a small Pynnace to convey his companie for England, and left three men to continue the possession in yo^r royall right.

"The Virginia Companie understanding of this discouery did challenge it as their right beinge 100 leagues at the least without distance of their Graunt: the said Companie sent a Gouvernor with men to take that possession from yo^r Ma^{tie} and findinge yo^r petitioners men to be still lyuinge who found by their industrie a cake of Ambergreece of 160^l waight tho the said Gouvernor hearinge thereof did violently take it from them to the use of the companie, who sold it for 120,000^l, and offered violence to the men for the confessinge of more.

"Shortly after the said Companie sold the said Ilands to a perticuler Companie for 2000^l as was confessed by S^r Edwin Sandys in open court without any reliefe untill this day of yo^r Petitioner either for his aduenture or otherwise, albeit they have often bin sought unto at yo^r petitioner's great charge and utter undoeinge, and nowe not so much as his petition to be read in their Court, but threatned to put out his freind the Solicitor thereof out of the Court. These and no other comforts can wee the auncient Aduenturers receaue amongst them w^{ch} wee most humblie beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} for god's cause to see redressed.

"ffarther yo^r petitioner most humbly beseecheth yo^r sacred Ma^{tie} to be pleased to enter into consideration of yo^r owne Royall rights therein, and to give order to the right

Hono^{ble} the Lords of yo^r Highnes Counsell for the hearinge and determinning of yo^r Ma^{ty} Rights and also for the releiuinge of yo^r poore suppliant.

“And he shall (as in duty most bounden) euer pray for yo^r Ma^{ty} most happie and prosperous raigne.

THE COMPANY'S ANSWER.

“The Answere of the Gouvernour and Compayny for the Summer Islands assembled in a Generall Courte to the Petition of Mathew Sommers, prisoner in the Kings Bench.

“The sayde Gouvernour and Compagny for answeare thereunto say :

“That true it is that the Companie for Virginia at their owne great charges furnished and sett S^r Thomas Gats and S^r Geo. Summers K^{nts} with a fleet of diuers shippes and some hundreds of people in a voyedge to Virginia, of w^{ch} the S^r Thomas Gates to bee Leiutenant Gouvernour and to hold the chiefe place of Gouvernement in the absence the Lo. DeLawarre then Gouvernour of Virginia and S^r Geo. Somers to be Admirall.

“And it is also true that the said S^r Tho. Gats and S^r Geo. Summers passing both in one shipp were forced by fowle weather and a leake in their shipp to run her up upon the rocks of the Ilands then called Barmudaes and nowe the Sumer Ilands.

“ffrom whence hauinge built a small ship and pin-nace they went on to Virginia, with intent send a shipp backe to the said Barmudaes for the bringinge of hoggs from thence to Virginia (whereof in the said Barmudaes they found great store, and in the meane were left

behind three of ye Companies men upon other occasions then in ye said petition is mentioned. It being then conceaued that the said Ilands laye nearer to Virginia then afterwards proued, and consequently that they belonged unto the Companie of Virginia, by virtue of an originall graunt from his Ma^{tie}; w^{ch} afterwards appearing to be otherwise they were humble suitors unto his Ma^{tie} for an enlargement of said former graunt, whereby the said Bermudaes might be conteyned within their lymitts, w^{ch} they also obtayned, In w^{ch} meanetime S^r Geo. Summers beinge sent backe from Virginia to the Barmudaes for transportinge of the said Hoggs by reason it was conceaued that those Ilands lyinge lowe would not easily be found againe, but by a man of good skill in all passages by sea, such as was S^r Geo. Summers. It pleased God that there he ended his days, and the petitioner Mathewe Somers Kinsman to S^r Geo. Summers but not his heire (contrary to the trust and intended purpose of that voyage) instead of returning with the said Hoggs for Virginia perswaded the marriners to come away for England, where the said Mathewe Summers hath euer since continued for ought that the Companie knoweth without performance of any the least service for behoofe of either Plantation. The Companie for Virginia hauinge obtained the said graunt of the Barmudaes from his Ma^{tie} and findinge it very conuenient for a strength to Virginia to be planted and peopled, beinge not able to effect the same at their comon charge, did passe their right awaye to diuers principall members of their Companie undertakinge for the plantinge and peopling of the same.

“ And afterwards upon surrender of the said graunt unto the Kinge his Ma^{tie} was pleased under his great seale to

graunt the said Ilands unto the said Undertakers, and to incorporate them by the name of ye Companie of the Citty of London for ye planting of the said Barmudaes from thence forward to be called by the name of ye Summers Ilands for the plantinge and peoplinge whereof the said Companie haue dispended of their owne proper goodes to the sume of one hundred thousand marks and upwards.

“And they saye further yt true it is, that the said 3 men left behinde in ye said Ilands as aforesaid hapened to finde one Block of Ambergreece of a verie great value, the right whereunto was granted to the said Companie for the Sumer Ilands by the Companie for Virginia at whose charges, and in whose seruice ye said three men were sett out and employed, notwithstanding by reason of underhand conueyance away of the said Ambergreece, the said Companie for the Sumer Ilands neuer recouered aboue one Third part of ye said Block of Ambergreece, the entire value whereof they are not able to declare, by reason that the then Gouvernour of the said Companie, being then also their Treasurer, hath hitherto refused to deliuer up to the said Companie an account of their Treasury.¹ And touching the third part of the said Ambergreece w^{ch} came into the possession of the Gouvernour of the Companie, whereunto they conceaue they had a just and lawfull tittle they haue notwithstanding compounded for the same with the finders thereof aforesaid, so as none of them haue any cause to complaine of ye said Companie, and least of all the said Mathew Summers who had no interest therein.

“And as for the said petitioners demand of ye right of ye said S^r Geo: Summers in Virginia for his pretended Ad-

¹ Sir Thomas Smith.

uerture, being farr short of ye some sett downe in ye said petition, ye said Company saith ye said Mathew Summers beinge not right heire to ye said S^r Geo. Summers (as was confessed by his Solicitor one Capt. Baylie in open court) can haue no just pretence to the same, but that the Companie for Virginia haue always showed themselues verie willing to doe all right to the true heires of S^r Geo. Summers with as much fauor and assistance as they may reasonably desire. And although the said Mathew Summers haue no just cause to stile himself an auncient either Aduenturer or Planter consideringe his short aboad there, and soddaine returne without license; And the said Companie for Virginia haue bin greatly enraged by his Solicitor, ye said Capt. Bailey whome it seemeth nothing can satisfie but the dissolution of both of ye Plantations, yet if there be any thing of right belonginge unto the said Mathewe Somers, upon notice giuen thereof he may receaue all fitt satisfaction.

“This beinge the true state of ye matters complayned of in ye said petition, the said Gouvernour and Companie forbear to make answeare to a multitude of other particularities therein containned: The same beinge either friuolous or void of all colour of truth.”

Mr. Farrar, the deputy of the Company, at one of their meetings thus stated the reason why they should notice the petition of Captain Somers:

“At a Virginia Court held 19th of June, 1622 your Deputy signified further that one Capt. Somers in a petition to his Ma^{tie} had entituled his Ma^{tie} to the Sumer Ilands, and 120,000*l* for the Ambergreece that was there

founde, the Answere thereunto although it properly belonged to the Sumers Ilands Company because the Virginia Companie was in the petition taxed of iniustice and oppression, he thought fitt by the waye to signifie unto them, that they might see what machination were sett a foote against the Plantation."

ALLUSIONS TO VIRGINIA ON THE STAGE.

The exaggerated stories of the wealth of the Bermudas sometimes excited the smile of the opponents of the company, and in the plays of the period there were frequent allusions to Virginia. At the Mask of the Middle Temple and Lincoln Inns of Court performed at White Hall on 15th of February, 1612-13, in honor of the nuptials of the Palsgrave and Princess Elizabeth, and written by Chapman, the chief maskers were in Indian habits, "with high spriged feathers on their heads, their vezirds of olive collour, hayre black and lardge waving downe to their shoulders." The musicians were attired like Virginian priests, who were supposed to adore the sun, and therefore called Phœbades. On the stage was the representation of rocks and caves, and Plutus, god of riches, was a principal person in the play. The following speech is made by one named *Capriccio*: "With this dull deity Riches, a rich island lying in the South Sea called Poëana, being for strength and riches called the navill of that South Sea is by earth's round motion moved near this Brittan shore, in which island being yet in command of the Virginian continent, a troupe of the noblest Virginian inhabiting attended hither the God of Riches all tryumphantly shining in a mine of gould. For hearing of the most royal so-

lemnity of these sacred nuptials, they crost the Ocean in their honour and are here arrived.”¹

In the course of the play Honor and Eunomia allude to the Virginian priests.

Honor. “Plutus, the Princes of the Virgine land
Whom I made crosse the Britain ocean
To this most famed ile of all the world
To do due homage to the sacred nuptials
Of Law and Vertue celebrated here
By this howre of the holy eve, I know
Are ready to perform the rights they owe.”

• After the Virginian princes sing they are addressed by

Eunomia. “Virginian Princes, ye must now renounce
Your superstitious worship of the Sun,
Subject to cloudy darknings and descents;
And of your sweet devotions turne the events
To this our Britain Phœbus, whose bright skie
Enlightened with a Christian piety
Is never subject to black error’s night,
And hath already offer’d Heaven’s true light
To your darke region; which acknowledge now
Descend, and to him all your homage vow.”

In the Mask of Flowers, by the gentlemen of Gray’s Inn, gotten up under the auspices of the learned Sir Francis Bacon, performed at White Hall upon Twelfth Night, 1613–14, Silenus challenges Kawasha and asserts that wine is more worthy than tobacco. Kewasha rode in “on a kowle-staff covered with a foot-cloth of pide stuff borne upon two Indians’ shoulders attired like Floridans.” On his head

¹ Nichols’s *Progresses, etc., of King James*, vol. II, pp. 568, 574.

was a cap of red-cloth of gold, from his ears were pendants, a glass chain was about his neck, his body and legs were covered with olive coloured stuff, in his hand were a bow and arrows, and "the bases, of tobacco colored stuff cut like tobacco leaves."¹

Silenus. "Kawasha comes in majestie
Was never such a God as he
He's come from a farre countrie
To make our nose a chimney.

Kawasha. "The Wine takes the contrary way
To get into the hood;
But good Tobacco makes no stay
But seizeth where it should.
More incense hath burned at
Great Kawashae's foote
Than to Silen and Bacchus both,
And take in Jove to boote.

Silenus. "The Worthies they were nine 'tis true
And lately Arthur's Knights I knew
But now are come up Worthies new
The roaring boyes Kawashae's crew.

Kawasha. "Silenus toppes the barrel, but
Tobacco toppes the braine
And makes the vapours fine and soote,
That man revives againe.
Nothing but fumigation
Doth charm away ill spirits,
Kawasha and his nation
Found out these holy rites."

To such plays the Rev. Mr. Crashaw seems to allude in the introductory epistle to Whitaker's *Good Newes from*

¹ *Nichols*, II, 739, 740.

Virginia, when he speaks of the calumnies against the colony, "and the jests of prophane players and other sycophants and the flouts and mockes of some who by their age and profession should be no mockers,"¹ and Purchas, also a clergyman, writes :

"God Almighty prosper that the word may goe out of Bermuda, and the law of the Lord from Virginia to a true conversion of the American World then hitherto Our Humorists or Spanish insolence have intended."²

In the *Daily Prayer* appointed for the plantation, published in 1612 with the civil and martial code, and perhaps composed by Rev. William Crashaw, is this petition :

"And wheras we haue by vndertaking this plantation vndergone the reproofs of the base world, insomuch as many of our owne brethren laugh vs to scorne, O Lord we pray thee fortifie vs against this temptation : let Sanballat & Tobias, Papists & *Players* and such other Amonits & Horonits the scum & dregs of the earth, let thē mocke such as helpe to build vp the wals of Jerusalem, and they that be filthy, let thē be filthy still."³

THE LOTTERIES.

An intimate friend of Sir Dudley Carleton, on February 12, 1611-12, wrote from London : "There is a lottery in

¹ An allusion, probably, to Lord Bacon, who spent much money in getting up the *Mask of Flowers*.

² *Purchas*, vol. V, p. 834.

³ This language is also used in the Epistle to the Reader prefixed to *Hamor's Relation*, published in 1615.

hand for furthering the Virginia voyage, and an under company erecting for the trade of the Bermudas, which have changed their name twice within this month, being first christened Virginiola as a member of that plantation, but now lately resolved to be called the Summer Islands, as well in respect of the continued temperate air, as in remembrance of Sir George Summers that died there.”¹

The London Company, under the charter of 1609, had become demoralized. One-third of the members after paying their first installment never took any more interest in colonization, another third refused to pay their pledges, and the burthen of the transactions fell upon the remainder. Suits were commenced by the Company against those “whose hands were not so ready to go to their purses as they were to the paper,” and to relieve them still further the lottery was projected.²

Howes remarks : “The Kings Maiesty in speciall fauour for the present plantation of English Collonies in Virginia,

¹ *Court and Times of James First*, vol. I, pp. 160, 161.

² On August 1, 1613, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton as follows :

“When the business at Virginia was at the highest, in that heat many gentlemen and others were drawn by persuasion and importunity of friends to underwrite their names for the adventurers ; but when it came to pay, especially the second or third time, their hands were not so ready to go to their purses as they were to the paper, and in the end flatly refused. Whereupon they are sued by the Company in Chancery, where this action finds such favour that they have ready despatch, and the underwriters are forced to make payment which amounts to a round sum between £3000 and £4000. Among the rest your cousin Will. Lytton was drawn on by Sir Walter Cope, with persuasion that he should not need to adventure any thing unless he list, but only to give his name for encouragement to others and for a countenance to the cause. But now it comes to the reckoning, he is fain to disburse £40, and his friend Sir Walter cannot protect him.” *Court and Times of James First*, I, 263.

graunted a liberall Lottery, in which was contained five thousand pound in prizes certaine, besides rewardes of casualty, and began to be drawne, in a new built house at the West end of Pauls, the 29 of June, 1612. Out of which Lottery, for want of filling up the number of lots, there were then taken out and throwne away, three score thousand blankes without abating of any one prize; and by the twentieth of July all was drawne and finished. This Lottery was so plainly carried, and honestly performed, that it gaue full satisfaction to all persons, Thomas Sharplisse a Taylor of London had the chief prize, viz, foure thousand Crownes in fayre plate, which was sent to his house in very stately manner: during the whole time of the drawing of this lottery, there were alwayes present diuers worshipfull Knights and Esquires, accompanied with sundry graue discreete Citizens.”¹

It was not until after the arrival in England of Sir Thomas Gates and Captain Samuel Argall, about the month of June, 1614, that steps were taken to have the great standing lottery.²

Early in 1615 the council sent to the mayor and aldermen of Canterbury a true declaration of the state of the English colony in Virginia, with a project, by the help of a lottery, to bring that work to the success desired, and commended “that worthy and Christian enterprize to their

¹ Howe's continuation of *Stow's Chronicles*, p. 1002.

² *Purchas*, IV, 1778.

Cunega, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Madrid on Sept. 22, 1612, that there was a lottery on foot to raise 20,000 ducats. In this all the livery companies adventured. The Grocers ventured 62*l.* 15*s.* and won a silver salt and cover valued at 13*l.* 10*s.* See *Herbert's Livery Companies* and *Cal. State Papers*.

care," and asked that they would use their best endeavors to persuade persons of ability to buy tickets. With the letter were blank books from the treasurer and council of Virginia for registering the sums adventured, which were to be returned with the money collected.¹ Smith has preserved in his history the Company's declaration relative to the lottery.²

DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT ON VIRGINIA AFFAIRS.

The third charter of the London Company, with its privilege of a lottery, had created some jealousy, and in the parliament of 1614 led to considerable discussion.³ Sir Thomas Smith, a member of the House of Commons, in a debate on the 20th of April, said that if he as the governor of the Company could influence the members, the patent should be brought in. Sergeant Montague declared that the patent was against law, and a member by the name of Middleton said :

"That the Company were willing to yield up their patent, that it had not been their intention to use it otherwise than for the good of all parties, and confessed that there had been some miscarriages. The shopkeepers of London sent over all kinds of goods, for which they received tobacco instead of coin, infinitely to the prejudice of the Commonwealth. Many of the divines now smell of tobacco and poor men spend 4*d.* of their days wages at night in smoke, and wished that this patent may be

¹ *Sainsbury, Cal. State Papers*, p. 18.

² *General History*, London, 1632, p. 117.

³ *House of Commons Journal*.

damned, and an act of Parliament passed for the government of the Colony by a Company."

After considerable discussion it was ordered by the House of Commons that the patent should be brought the next day.

On the 12th of May the council for Virginia presented a petition for aid, which was read, and the next Monday, at nine o'clock in the morning, was designated as the time to hear the case; but on the 16th Mr. Brooke moved that the Virginia business should be taken up the next day at seven o'clock.

On the 17th of May it was ordered that Lords Southampton, Sheffield, and others, should come in to hear the discussion of Virginia affairs, and shall sit with uncovered heads until otherwise requested by the Speaker. It was further ordered that any member that stood in the entry should pay a fine of 12*d.* to the Sergeant-at-arms, and that there should be great silence while the Lords were present.

The members of the Virginia Company, with their lawyer, the eminent Richard Martin, then entered, followed by the Lords, who passed within the bar of the house and stood bare. As soon as Martin was ready to proceed with his argument the Speaker addressed the Lords and said it was now the pleasure of the house that they should sit down and be covered. The argument in behalf of the company then commenced, and its classic language and brilliant imagery was worthy of the speaker who, when a student at Oxford, had been distinguished.¹

¹ Richard Martin was a native of Otterton, Devonshire. He was witty, eloquent, and convivial, as well as an able jurist. A short period before his death was recorder of London. He died in 1618. The fol-

SPEECH OF MARTIN, THE COMPANY'S ATTORNEY.

Martin opened with a tribute to Queen Elizabeth of gracious memory, who had by her enterprize become Lady of the Seas, whole fleets stooping before the red cross in her flag, and had encouraged her subjects to sail in every sea. He then sketched the efforts of Amidas and White to plant on the peninsulas of North Carolina under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh, "a subject of envy in his greatness, now a mirror of the vanity of all earthly things."

Next he mentioned the preliminary steps that had been taken in 1606 to plant in Virginia, and to bring the natives to the knowledge of true religion, and then described the various voyages from the first under Newport. Virginia, he contended, was "a bridle for the Neapolitan courser, if our youth of England were able to sit him, for which they would find their golden spurs." Since Lord Delaware became governor it had become a settled plantation, and all it now needed was the fostering care of England.

He then argued that the possession of Virginia was a just conquest, referring to the course of the Spaniards in the West Indies, and Don John Dáquila in Ireland, and that the treatment of the savages had been considerate. To the objection that a formal settlement of the country, backed by the power of England, might lead to a war with Spain, he replied, that there could be no just cause for

lowing lines form part of an eulogy which appeared beneath his portrait engraved in 1620 :

"Legumque lingua, lexque dicendi magis :

Anglorum alumnus, præco Virginis, ac parens."

Granger, vol. II.

For a sketch of Martin see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. II, p. 250.

offence. The country was theirs by discovery, and the name given by their queen, and should be defended as the Spaniards defended the West Indies, the Portuguese the East Indies, and the Hollanders their forts in the Moluccas. What Virginia now needed was honest laborers with their wives and children, and moved that a committee might be appointed to consider the means of securing them, and that some of the Company might be present at their deliberations. In concluding he reminded the members how Henry the Seventh penuriously turned his face from Columbus because he could not see the profit that would result to England from his projected discoveries, and urged them not to pursue a similar parsimonious course toward Virginia; and then, forgetting in the warmth of oratory that he was not a member of the House, but there simply as a lawyer in behalf of the Virginia Company, he transcended the limits of courtesy, and reproved them for wasting so much time upon matters of less importance.

MARTIN ARRAIGNED FOR CONTEMPT.

As soon as Martin concluded, Sir Roger Owen, member from Shrewsbury, moved that the Treasurer of the Virginia Company and its members withdraw themselves until the sentiments of the speech were debated. Sir Edward Montague thought that the speech "was the most unfitting that was ever spoken in the house," and Sir E. Hoby was for calling him to the bar. Mr. Duncombe said he patronized "as a schoolmaster teaching his scholars."

Sir R. Phillips admitted that he had made a great mistake, but that the intention should be considered, that the Lords had no hand in the matter, and he was willing that the members of the Virginia Company should remain in

the House. Sir G. Moore felt that it was an extraordinary step to admit counsel in the House upon the hearing of a petition, and that the speech was still more strange. It was at length decided that he should be brought to the bar of the House on the next day, and that after a charge from the Speaker, he should make his submission.

The next morning he was brought before the Speaker, and offered to kneel. Sir Randall Crew, the Speaker, then spoke :

“He had done himself much credit by offering to kneel. The case was this a petition relative to the Virginia Company had been presented, and an order for the Council to appear, that he as their Attorney had represented himself with divers Lords. That the House at first was disposed to listen to him with all due respect and love ; that the retrospect of the Virginia Plantation was acceptable, for it had been viewed with the eyes of love. But afterwards he had impertinently digressed, for it was not his place to censure and advise. The House had therefore brought him before them, and although many were his acquaintances, yet now all looked upon him with the eyes of judges, and not as private friends.”

Martin confessed in substance as follows :

“All men liable to err, and he particularly so, but he was not in love with error, and as willing as any man to be divorced therefrom. Admits that he digressed from the subject ; that he was like a ship that cutteth the cable and putteth to sea, for he cut his memory and trusted to his invention. Was glad to be an example to others, and submitted to the censure not with a dejected countenance, for there is comfort in acknowledging an error.”

Sir Wm. Maynard was glad the House yesterday inclined

to mercy and commended the carriage and answer of the person at the bar. Sir R. Phillips then moved that Martin be called before the house, and their pleasure signified.

The house, although feeling that their dignity had been offended, in view of his acknowledgment discharged him from custody. Martin, before leaving, assured them it was not his intention to be high-handed, thanked them for their favor, and petitioned that "they would fill up the measure of their grace," and appoint a committee to consider the Virginia business.

Lorkin, on May 28th, writing from London to Sir Thomas Puckering at Madrid, remarks :

"Not many days since Mr. Martin the lawyer presuming to tax the House, incurred the danger of a severe censure, if many friends accompanied by an humble submission of his own, had not the more powerfully mediated for him. He was no member of the House, but entertained by the Virginia Company to recommend unto the House a favourable consideration of something that imported that adventure. Coming therefore to speak he left his theme which was appointed him, and began to reprove the House for wasting so much time to so little purpose ; and then as if he had more brain than all, undertook to become their pedagogue, and to instruct them (chiefly the younger sort, whereof there is some number) in what steps they ought to tread, and in what order they are to proceed. The next day he was called to the bar and there arraigned for presumption ; where upon the earnest mediation of many friends, and his own submissive acknowledgment upon his knees, he was pardoned his offence." ¹

¹ *Court and Times of James First*, vol. I, p. 317.



CHAPTER IV.

SIR THOMAS DALE.

THOMAS DALE had always been a soldier. In youth he entered the army of the Low Countries as a private, and rose to a position of honor. Robert Cecil, in March, 1604, wrote to Winwood, English Ambassador to the States, that King James wished him to "take notice of his gracious opinion of the merit of Captain Dale both for having been a valiant and long servitor, and having for the most part rendred them upon his [own] charges,"¹ and in June, 1606, he was knighted as Sir Thomas Dale of Surrey. Soon after this he was with Sir Thomas Gates at Oudwater in South Holland. The States-general on June 20, 1611, which was about one month after his arrival in Virginia, granted to Captain Thomas Dale a leave of absence for three years.² His advent in the colony was marked by a determination to promote by force that system, industry, and frugality which had raised up out of the marshes of Holland, towns which were the centres of commerce, manufactures, and prosperity.

His imperiousness soon led to an altercation, and pulling the beard of Captain Newport he threatened to hang him

¹ *Winwood Memorials*.

² *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. I.

for some statement relative to Sir Thomas Smith.¹ He was very anxious that the king should give a more hearty recognition of the colony, and on the 17th of August, 1611, wrote to Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury as a true lover of God and his country, to advance the work to its proper height, and send such laborers "as may take off the film of ignorance and simplicity which veils the eyes of these poor wretches from looking upon their own beauty." He proposed to settle several plantations, the first at Point Comfort, the second fifteen miles off at a place called ~~Dis~~kiack, the third at Jamestown, the fourth at Arsahattocks, eighty miles up the river, and the fifth ten miles above. He also stated that the three hundred disorderly persons brought with him are "so profane, so riotous, so full of mutiny that not many are Christians but in name, their bodies so diseased and crazed that not sixty of them may be employed," and urged that two thousand able-bodied men might be sent by the king, to enable him to build on sure foundations.²

Winwood received a letter from London on the 29th of November, which said :

"The Plantations of Ireland and Virginia do prosperously succeed. Some fear is dispersed amongst the weaker sort, of some foreign attempts on these places, but the Nation doth not apprehend it as * * * neither is here, care taken to supply Sir Thomas Dale with the 2000 men which he demandeth."³

¹ *Sainsbury, State Papers*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Winwood Memorials*, III, 309.

Kiskiaek -
pronounced
see-co-ka.

K

After Gates returned to England on business, and Delawarr on account of sickness, Dale enlarged the laws they had proclaimed, and also introduced the martial code contained in the thirty-two articles of war of the army of the Netherlands, with the cognizance of Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company.¹ Under military surveillance the colonists erected houses and other improvements at the new settlement of Henrico, but few paid any attention to husbandry. Gates resumed command after Dale had instituted his severe course, and from the time of his arrival with three ships, three carvills, and three hundred persons, in 1611, until he went back to England, the only ships sent over were the John and Francis, and Sarah, with few men and less victuals, the Treasurer, with Capt. Sam. Argall and fifty persons, and the Elizabeth, with thirteen persons, and in this last vessel Gates, in the

¹ These laws were published in 1612, with a preface by Strachey and the following title page :

FOR

THE COLONY IN VIRGINEA

BRITTANNIA

Layves Diuine, Morall and

Martiall, &c.

Alget qui non Ardet.

*Res nostre subinde non sunt, quales quis optaret,
sed quales esse possunt.*

Printed at London for *Walter Barre.* 1612.

This code was reprinted by Force. See *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

spring of 1614, sailed, and never again returned to Virginia.¹

Dale was now once more governor. During the summer his leave of absence from the army of the Netherlands expired, but King James, on the 19th of August, addressed a letter to the States-general to continue "his absence for two or three years more, in order that he may complete the work so well begun," and the request was granted.²

After Gates left, want, scarcity and severity developed a mutinous spirit among the settlers, and six were executed. The John and Francis during this period again arrived with twenty persons, and the Treasurer with the same number.

In the latter vessel Dale and party left Virginia, Captain Yeardley remaining in charge of the government. Early in June, 1616, the ship anchored at Plymouth, and Dale immediately wrote to one of the secretaries of the king that he had safely returned from the hardest task he ever undertook, and would present himself with the greatest speed, and give an account of that admirable country, one of the goodliest and richest kingdoms of the world, which being inhabited by the king's subjects, "will put such a bit into our ancient enemies mouth as will cut his haughtiness of monarchy."³

During the year 1617 he was sick and feeble, and remained in England, but early the next year he was in Holland, and on the 7th of February the States-general

¹ *Sainsbury*, pp. 67, 68.

² *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. I.

³ *Sainsbury, State Papers*, p. 17.

granted him full pay for the whole period of his absence.¹ Soon after this he appears to have been under a cloud, for Lake, one of the king's secretaries, in a dispatch of March 26th to the English Ambassador to the States, says: "Your Lordship wrote to me of late of a fault of Sir Thomas Dale, which his Majesty and all men have condemned in him."²

As early as 1614 he had forwarded from Virginia £100 to be invested by Sir William Throckmorton in the East India Company,³ and in January, 1618-19, King James commissioned him as chief commander of the East India fleet.⁴

In 1619 he has a naval engagement with the Dutch near Bantam, and early in 1620, succumbing to the climate, died. He was twice married, and Lady Fanny, the second, was cousin of the first wife.⁵ At a meeting of the Virginia Company, held on 1621, the treasurer signified "that my Ladie Dale late the wife of Sir Thomas Dale deceased the worthy Knight and great aduancer of the Virginia accon desired a patent for a particular plantation which was granted."⁶

1 - mistake
Virginia Co
p. 96.

REV. ALEXANDER WHITAKER.

With Dale, came to Virginia the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, son of the distinguished Puritan, Dr. Whitaker,

¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. I.

² *Carleton Letters and Dispatches*.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, East India Series.

⁴ *Rymer*, XVII, 56.

⁵ *Green's State Papers*, vol. III.

⁶ *Manuscript Trans.*, vol. I, p. 240.

Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. He had been settled in one of the northern counties of England, was possessed of some estate, and beloved by his neighbors, but, says Crashaw, "without any perswasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leaue his warme nest" to carry the gospel to the heathen of America.

In the year 1613 there was published in London "Good Newes from Virginia, sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia resident in England. From Alexander Whitaker, Minister of Henrico in Virginia," etc. The little treatise is an earnest appeal in behalf of the colony, as will be perceived from the following extracts :

"Wherefore since God hath opened the doore of Virginia to our country of England, wee are to think that God hath as it were by the word of his mouth called us to bestow our several charity on them. And that this may the better appeare wee haue many reasons to encourage us to be liberall-minded and open-handed toward them.

"First. If we consider the almost miraculous beginning and continuance of this plantation wee must confess that God hath opened this passage unto us and led us by the hand unto the work, for the mariners that were sent hither first to discover the Bay of Chæsepeac found it only by the meere direction of God's providence for I heard one of them confesse that even then when they were entred within the mouth of the Bay they deemed the place they sought for, to have been many degrees further. The finding was not so strange, but the continuing and upholding of it hath bin most wonderfull. I may fitly compare it to the growth of an infant which hath been afflicted from its birth with some grievous sickness that many times no hope

of life hath remained, and yet it liveth still. Again if there were nothing else to encourage us, yet this one thing may stirr us up to go on cheerfully with it, that the divell is a capital enemy against it and continually seeketh to hinder the prosperitie and good proceedings of it. Yea hath heretofore so far prevailed by his instruments, the covetous hearts of many backsliding adventurers at home, also by his servants here, some striving for superioritie, others by murmurings, mutinies and plaine treasons, and others by fornication, prophaneness, idleness and such monstrous sinnes."

After alluding to the expeditions of Gates and Somers, and the providential arrival of Lord Delawarre, he continues :

"Since when the English colony hath taken better root and as a spreading herbe whose top hath bin often cropped off renews her growth and spreads herself more gloriously than before. So this Plantation which the divell hath so often troden downe is by the miraculous blessing of God revived, and daily groweth to more happy and hopeful successe. I have shut up many things in few words and have alleadged this only to prove unto us that the finger of God hath been the only true worker heare; that God first showed us the place, God first called us hither; and here God by his special providence hath maintained us. Wherefore by him let us be encouraged to try our helping hands to this good work, yea God's work. 'I

INDIANS, NAKED SLAVES OF THE DEVIL.

“Secondly, let the miserable condition of these naked slaves of the divell move you to compassion toward them. They acknowledge that there is a great good God but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded, wherefore they serve the divell for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have heere heard) their owne children to him. I have sent one image of their god to the Counsell in England which is painted upon one side of a toad stoole, much like unto a deformed monster. Their priests whom they call Quockosonghs are no other but such as our English witches are. They live naked in bodie, as if the shame of their mind deserved no covering. Their names are as naked as their bodies, and they esteem it a vertue to lie, deceive and steale as their master the divell teacheth them. Much more might be said of their miserable condition, but I refer to the particular mention of these things to some other season. If this bee the life what think you shall become of them after death, but to be partakers with the divell and his angels for evermore.

“Wherefore you wealthy men of the world, whose bellies God hath filled with this hidden treasure, trust not in uncertain riches, neither cast your eyes upon them, for riches taketh to her wings as an eagle, and flieth into Heaven. But bee each in good works ready to distribute and communicate. How shamefully do the most of you either miserably detaine or wickedly mispend Gods goods whereof he made you his stewards! The Prodigall men of our land make hast to fling away God’s treasure as a generous burthen which they desire to be eased of. Some

make no scruple at it to spend yearly an hundred pounds, two, three, five hundred and much more about dogs, hawkes, and hounds and such sports, which will not give five hundred pence to reliefe of God's poor members.

"Others will not care to lose two or three thousand pound in a night at cards and dice and yet suffer poor Lazarus to perish in the street for want of their charitable almes. Yea divers will hyer gardens at great rates, and build stately houses for their whores, which have no compassion on the fatherless and widdowes. How much better were it for these men to remember the affliction of Joseph, to extend the bowels of their compassion to the poore, the fatherless, the afflicted and the like than to mispend that which they must give a straite account of at the day of Judgment.

"Are not these miserable people heare better than hawkes, hounds, whores and the like?"¹

¹ The establishment of the gospel in America created among English Christians pleasant anticipations. Sir Wm. Alexander, secretary of state for Scotland, and subsequently proprieter of Nova Scotia, a few months after the appearance of Whitaker's *Good News*, wrote, in a poem called *Doomsday* :

"In this last age, Time doth new worlds display,
That Christ a church, o'er all the Earth may have,
His righteousness shall barbarous realms away,
If their first love, more civil lands will leave,
America to Europe may succeed,
God may of stones raise up to Abram, seed."

Some years after George Herbert, in the *Church Militant*, expressed a similar thought :

"Religion stands tiptoe in our land
Ready to pass to the American strand."

It is remarkable that the records are so silent concerning this good man. Without authority it has been asserted that he married Pocahontas to John Rolfe. The only mention of him that we have found, is the statement of Argall, in 1617, that he had been drowned.

And again :

“ Then shall Religion to America flee ;
They have their time of Gospel, e’en as we.”



CHAPTER V.

POCAHONTAS AND COMPANIONS.

IN the first relation of the colony of Virginia, published in 1608, and attributed to Captain Smith, Pocahontas is briefly noticed in these words :

“Powhatan understanding we detained certain saluages sent his daughter a child of tenne yeares old, which not only for feature, countenance, and proportion much exceedeth any of the rest of his people but for wit and spirit the only non-pareil of his countrie.”

In the same narrative Smith states that he was treated with kindness by Powhatan, who wished him to live in his village, and afterwards, he adds, “hee sent me home with 4 men, one that usually carried my Gowne and Knap-sacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.”¹

In 1609 Smith was sent to England to answer some misdemeanors, and never again lived in Virginia ; but in his *General History*, published more than fifteen years afterwards, he transforms Powhatan to a savage wretch ready to beat out his brains, until “Pocahontas the king’s dearest daughter got his head into her arms, and laid her owne

¹ Deane’s edition of *True Relation*, p. 38.

upon his to saue him from death,"¹ which statement is perpetuated in a sculpture by Capellano, which may be seen over one of the doors of the Capitol at Washington.

GIRLHOOD OF POCAHONTAS.

William Strachey, secretary of the colony, who arrived with Lord Delawarre in 1610, gives a vivid description of Pocahontas. He remarks that "Both men, women and children have their severall names; at first according to the several humour of their parents, * * * and so the great King Powhatan called a young daughter of his, whome he loved well, Pochahuntas, which may signifie little wanton, howbeyt she was rightly called Amonate at more ripe yeares."²

In another chapter he states: "Their younger women goe not shadowed amongst their owne companie until they be nigh eleaven or twelve returnes of the leafe old (for soe they accompt and bring about the yeare, calling the fall of the leafe taquitock); nor are they much ashamed thereof, and therefore would the before remembered Pochahuntas a well featured but wanton young girle, Powhatan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boyes forth with her into the markett place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome she would follow and wheele so herself, naked as she was all the fort over; but being once twelve yeares, they put on a kind of semecinctum lethern apron (as do our artificers or

¹ *Smith's History*, folio, 1632, p. 49.

² *Hakluyt Pub. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 65.

handycrafts men) before their bellies, and are very shame-fac't to be seen bare."¹

On another page the same writer mentions that "They often reported unto us that Powhatan had then lyving twenty sonnes and ten daughters * * * besides young Pocohunta a daughter of his, using sometyme to our fort in tymes past, nowe married to a private captaine called Kocoum some two yeares since."²

During the year 1612 a plan seems to have been arranged among the principal men of Virginia of intermarrying the English with the natives, and of obtaining the recognition of Powhatan and those allied to him as members of a fifth kingdom, with certain privileges. Cunega, the Spanish ambassador at London, on September 22, 1612, writes: "Although some suppose the plantation to decrease, he is credibly informed that there is a determination to marry some of the people that go over to Virginians; forty or fifty are already so married, and English women intermingle and are received kindly by the natives. A zealous minister hath been wounded for reprehending it."³

In July of this year the bold and unscrupulous Captain Argall sailed from England, and arrived on the 17th of September at Point Comfort.

ARGALL'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF POCAHONTAS.

Early in the spring of 1613, to employ his own language, "I was told by certaine Indians my friends that

¹ *Hakluyt Pub. Soc.*, vol VI, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ *Sainsbury*. Was this clergyman Mr. Buck or Mr. Whitaker?

the great Powhatan's daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowomek whether I presently repaired resolving to possesse myselfe of her by any stratagem that I could use for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan as also to get such armes and tooles as hee and other Indians had got by murther and stealing some others of our nation, with some quantity of corne for the colonies reliefe.

"So soone as I came to anchor before the towne I manned my boate, and sent on shore for the King of Pascancy and Ensigne Swift (whom I had left as a pledge of our loue and truce the voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him, whom after I had received, I brake the matters to this King and told him that if he did not betray Pokohuntis into my hands, wee would be no longer brothers nor friends. He alleaged that if hee undertake the businesse, then Powhatan would make warres upon him and his people, but upon my promise that I would joyne with him against him, he repaired presently to his brother the great King of Patowomeck, who being made acquainted with the matter called his counsell together and after some few houres deliberation concluded rather to deliver her into my hands; so presently he betrayed her into my boat, when I carried her aboard my ship. This done an Indian was dispatched to Powhatan to let him know that I had taken his daughter, and if he would send home the Englishman (who he detained in slaverie, with such armes and tooles as the Indians had gotten and stolne and also a great quantity of corne that then he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not. This very much grieved this great King, yet without delay he returned the messenger with this

answere that he desired me to use his daughter well and bring my ship into his river and then he would give me my demands, which being performed I should deliver his daughter and we should be friends.

“Having received this answer I presently departed, being the 13 of Aprill and repayred with all speed to Sir Thomas Gates to know of him upon what conditions he would conclude the peace, and what he would demand to whom I also delivered my prisoner towards whose ransome within few days the King sent home seven of our men who seemed to be very joyfull for that they were freed from the slavery and feare of cruell murther which they daily before lived in. They brought also three peeces, one broad axe and a long whip-saw and one canow of corne. I being quit of my prisoner went forward with the frigate which I had left at Point Comfort and furnished her.”

John Chamberlain, writing from London on August 1, 1613, to Sir Dudley Carleton, says :

“There is a ship come from Virginia with news of their well doing which puts some life into that action that before was almost at the last cast. They have taken the daughter of a King that was their greatest enemy as she was going feasting upon a river to visit certain friends, for whose ransom the father offers whatsoever in his power, and to become their friend, and to bring them where they shall meet with a gold mine. They proposed unto him three conditions, to deliver all the English fugitives, to render all manner of arms or weapons of theirs that are come to his hands, and to give them three hundred quarters of corne. The two first he promised readily, and promis-

eth the other at the harvest if his daughter may be well used in the meantime.”¹

Ralph Hamor, Jr., for a time secretary of the colony, and whose father was a member of the Company and a merchant tailor of London, visited England in 1614, and the next year published “A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia until 18th of June 1614.”

It is a narrative of considerable embellishment, and bears evidence of having been composed for the purpose of exciting the king and others to contribute moneys for the use of the colony. He expands the statement of Argall relative to the capture of Pocahontas, and narrates her alliance with John Rolfe, who, with a white wife, came to Virginia in 1610, and whose child was christened at Bermuda by Chaplain Buck,² the witnesses being Secretary Strachey and Captain Newport. His statement, which follows, was condensed by Smith, and has been to this day repeated by historians.

HAMOR'S ACCOUNT OF THE SEIZURE.

“It chanced Powhatan's delight and darling his daughter Pocahuntas (whose fame hath euen bin spread in England by the title of Nonparella of Virginia) in her princely progresse I may so terme it took some pleasure in the absence of Capt. Argall to be among her friends at Pataomecke (as it seemeth by the relation I had) imploied thither as shop keepers to a fare, to exchange some of her father's corn

¹ *Court and Times of James First*, I, 262, 263.

² *Purchas*, IV, 1744.

for theirs, where residing some three months or longer, it fortun'd upon occasion either of promise or profit Captaine Argal to arrive there, when Pocahuntas desirous to renew her familiaritie with the English and delighting to see them would gladly visit us as she did: of whom no sooner had Captaine Argal intelligence, but he delt with an old friend and adopted brother of his Iapazeus how and by what meanes he might procure hir captiue, assuring him that now or neuer was the time to pleasure him if he entended indeed that loue which he had made profession of, that in ransome of hir he might redeeme some of our English men armes now in the possession of hir Father promising to vse her curteously, promised his best indeauours and secrecie to accomplish his desire; and thus wrought it, making his wife an instrument (which sex haue euer bin most powerfull in beguiling inticements) to effect his plot which hee had thus laid, he agreed that himself, his wife and Pocahuntas would accompanie his brother [Argall] to the water-side, whether come, his wife should faine a great and longing desire to goe aboord and see the shippe, which being there three or foure times before she had never seene, and should bee earnest with her husband to permit her: he seemed angry with her making as he pretended, so vnneccessary a request as especially being without the company of women, which denial she taking unkindly must faine to weepe (as who knowes not that women can command teares) whereupon her husband seeming to pittie those counterfeit teares gave her leave to goe aboard, so that it would please Pocahuntas to accompanie her: now was the greatest labour to win her, guilty perhaps of her father's wrongs, yet by her earnest persuasions she assented: so forthwith aboard they went,

the best cheere that could be made was seasonably provided, to supper they went merry on all hands especially Iapazeus and his wife who to expres their joy would ere be treading upō Capt. Argal's foot, as who shall say 'tis don, she is your own. Supper ended Pocahuntas was borne in the gunner's roome, but Iapazeus and his wife desired to have some conference with their brother which was only to acquaynt him by what stratagem they had betraied his prisoner as I have already related : after which discourse, to sleep they went, Pocahuntas mistrusting their policy was first up and hastened Iapazeus to be gon. Capt. Argal having secretly well rewarded him with a small copper kettle and some other less valuable toies so highly by him esteemed that doubtless he would have betraied his own father for them, permitted both him and his wife to return but told him that for divers considerations * * * he would reserve Pocahuntas whereat she began to be exceeding pensive and discontented."

Hamor relates that she was taken to Jamestown, and a messenger sent to Powhatan with the terms of ransom, and that three months after he sent word that if his daughter was restored he would give satisfaction. He also stated that in March, 1614, Capt. Argall's ship, and others, carrying Dale and one hundred and fifty men besides Pocahontas, ascended the York river and appeared before Powhatan's town to demand an entire restoration of Englishmen and stolen property. To resume his language :

JOHN ROLFE'S PROPOSAL.

"Long before this time a gentleman of approved behaviour and honest carriage Maister John Rolfe had been

in loue with Pocahuntas and she with him which thing at the instant that we were in parlee with them, myself made knowne to Sir Thomas Dale by a letter from him¹ whereby he intreated his aduise and furtherance in his loue, if so it seemed fit to him for the good of the Plantation, and Pocahuntas acquainted her brethren therewith; which resolution Sir Thomas Dale well approving was the only cause he was so mikde amongst them, who otherwise would not have departed the river without other conditions.

"The brute of this pretended marriage came soone to Powhatan's knowledge, a thing acceptable unto him as appeared by his sudden consent thereunto, who some ten daies after sent an old Uncle of hirs named Opachisco to give her as his deputy in the Church² and two of ~~his~~ sons to see the marriage solemnized which was accordingly done about the fift of April."

*his. Powhatan
See Vol. 1. Book
p. 195. not*

An account is given by Hamor of the council with the Indians, at the "Chicohominie, seven miles from Jamestown," and the several articles of the treaty, the last of which provided that there should be eight chief men under Sir Thomas Dale, each of which was to receive a red coat or livery from the King yearly, a picture of his majesty on copper, with a chain to hang around the neck, these eight

¹ Why Rolfe should not have talked with Dale at Jamestown it is difficult to conceive. The letter referred to is appended to the narrative, and makes about seven printed pages, and is a labored treatise, giving reasons when a Christian should marry a heathen, and has the musty smell of the dusty study of a London divine, rather than the fragrance of a letter written by a man in love.

² All narratives are silent as to where the church was, and the name of the minister who read the marriage service.

to be known as King James's noblemen. Toward the conclusion of the narrative is the following statement :

"It pleased Sir Thomas Dale (myself being much desirous before my return for England to visit Powhatan and his Court, because I would be able to speak somewhat thereof by mine own knowledge) to imploy myself and on Thomas Salvage (who had lived three years with Powhatan, and speaks the language naturally one whom Powhatan much affecteth, upon a message unto him, which was to deale with him if by any meanes I might procure a daughter of his who (Pocahuntas being already in possession) is generally reputed to be his delight and darling and surely he esteemeth her as his owne soule, for a sure pledge of peace."

After arriving at Powhatan's town, Hamor delivered the following speech :

SIR THOMAS DALE'S PROPOSAL.

"Sir Thomas Dale, your brother, the principal commander of the English men sends you greeting of loue and peace on his part inviolable, and hath in testimonie thereof by me, sent you a worthie present, viz, two large peeces of copper, fve strings of white and blue beades, fve wooden combes, ten fish hookes and a pair of knives, (all which I delivered him one thing after another that he might have time to view each particular.) He wished me also to certifie you that when you pleased to send men he would give you a great grindstone." My message and gift pleased him I proceeded thus.

“The brute of the exquisite perfection of your youngest daughter being famous through all your territories, hath come to the hearing of your Brother Sir Thomas Dale who for this purpose hath ordered me hither to intreate you to permit her, with me to return unto him partly for the desire her sister hath to see her, of whom if fame hath not bin prodigall as like enough it hath not, your brother by your favour would gladly make his neerest companion wife and bedfellow and the reason hereof is being now friendly and finally united together and made one people in the bond of loue, he would make a naturall union between us, principally because himselfe hath taken resolution to dwell in your country so long as he liveth, and would therefore not only have the firmest assurance he may of perpetual friendship for you but also hartily bind himself hereunto.”

This proposition of Dale was not entertained, for Powhatan had just sold his daughter for a wife, to an Indian, for two bushels of Indian beads. Hamor replied, “I suppose he might restore the beads,” and bring the daughter back, not twelve years old, to gratify Sir Thomas Dale, but Powhatan would not listen to the dishonorable proposal, and in a few weeks Hamor sailed for England.¹

¹ Sir Thomas Dale was twice married, and Fanny, the last, was cousin of his first wife. At the time of this proposal his wife was in England. See Greene's *Cal. State Papers*, and *Manuscript Transactions of London Company*.

ROLFE THE PIONEER TOBACCO PLANTER.

Hamor gives great credit to Rolfe as the first to plant tobacco in Virginia, a fact not mentioned in modern histories.

"I may not forget the gentleman worthie of much commendations, which first took the paines to make triall thereof, his name Mr. John Rolfe, Anno Domini 1612, partly for the loue he hath a long time borne unto it, and partly to raise commodities to the adventurers, in whose behalfe I intercede and vouchsafe to hold my testimony in beleefe that during the time of his aboade there, which draweth neere upon sixe years no man hath laboured to his power there, and worthy incouragement unto England, by his letters than he hath done, witness his marriage with Powhatan's daughter one of rude education, manners barbarous, and cursed generation merely for the good and honor of the Plantation."

REV. ALEXANDER WHITAKER'S ALLEGED LETTER.

Appended to Hamor's narrative is the following letter, dated June 18, 1614, and alleged to have been written by the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, and addressed to a cousin, a London clergyman :

"Sir, the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale our religious and valiant Geuernour hath now brought that to passe which never before could be effected. For vvarre upon our enemies and kind usage of our freinds, he hath brought them to make for peace of us vvwhich is made and they dare not breake.

“But that vvhich is best one Pocahuntas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan is married to an honest and discrete English Gentleman Maister Rolfe and that after she had openly renounced her country Idolatry, confessed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptised, vvhich thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured a long time to ground in her.

“Yet notwithstanding are the vertuous deeds of this worthy Knight much debased by the letters which some wicked men have written from thence, and especially by one C. L. If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come further for those slanderous letters you may upon my word reprove them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Judge, but themselves seeming to be reproved doe prosecute with all hatred.”

Purchas professes to give the same letter, but the conclusion is different, and adds to the suspicion that the letter is fictitious.

Conclusion in Hamor.

“Sir Thomas Dale (with whom I am) is a man of great knowledge in Divinitie and of good conscience. Every Sabbath day wee preach in the forenoone, and chatechize in the afternoone. Every Saturday at night I exercise in Sir Thomas Dale’s house. Our church affaires be consulted on by the Minister and foure of the most religious men. Once every month wee have a communion, and once a year a solemn fast.

“For me though my promise of

Conclusion in Purchas.

“But I much more muse that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription come hither where neither are spoken of.

“Doe they not either wilfully hide their tallents or keepe themselves at home for fear of loosing a few pleasures? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts and to the King that shall reward euery one according to the gaine of his talent.

“But you, my cosen, hold fast that which you haue, and I though my

three years service to my country promise of three yeeres service to
 be expired yet I will abide in my my countrey be expired will abide
 vocation here, until I be lawfully in my vocation here until I be law-
 called from hence. And so betak- fully called from hence. And so
 ing us all unto the mercies of God betaking us all unto the mercies of
 in Christ Jesus, I rest for ever." God in Christ Jesus I rest for euer."

POCAHONTAS AND COMPANIONS IN ENGLAND.

Sir Thomas Dale, leaving the affairs of the colony in the hands of Deputy Governor George Yeardley, early in June, 1616, arrived at Plymouth with Pocahontas and a party of Indians, and on the 20th Lord Carew notices the fact in these words :

"Sir Thomas Dale retourned frome Virginia, he hathe brought divers men and women of thatt countrye to be educated here,¹ and one Rolffe who married a daughter of

¹ Before this an Indian lad had been sent to England to be educated. From the *Planter's Plea*, published in London, 1630, is extracted the following :

" Amongst such as have beene brought over into England from Virginia was one Nanamack, a youth sent over by the Lo: Delaware when he was Governor there, who coming over and living here a yeare or two in houses where hee heard not much of religion but sins, had many times examples of drinking, swearing and like evils ran as he was, a mere Pagan, but after into a godly family was strangely altered, grew to understand the principles of religion, learnd to reade, delighted in the Scriptures, Prayers and other Christian duties, mournfully bewailed the state of Country, especially his brethren and gave such testimonies of his love to the truth, that he was thought fit to be baptized, but being prevented by death left behind such testimonies of his desire of God's favor, that it moved such godly Christians as knew him, to conceive well of his condition." Page 53.

Pohetan (the barbarous prince) called Pocahuntas hath brought his wife with him into England."¹

Among those who came with Pocahontas as a counsellor was Tamocomo, who had married her sister. Purchas says: "With this savage I have often conversed at my good friends Master Doctor Gulstone where he was a frequent guest and where I have seen him sing and dance his diabolical measures."

After the first weeks of her residence in England she does not appear to be spoken of as the wife of Rolfe by the letter writers. Rev. Peter Fontaine asserts that "when they heard that Rolfe had married Pocahontas, it was deliberated in Council, whether he had not committed high treason by so doing, that is marrying an Indian princess."²

Christmas, his Mask, by Ben Jonson, was played at court on 6th of January, 1616-17, and Pocahontas and Tamocomo were both present. On the 18th of this month Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton:³

"On Twelfth night there was a Masque when the new made Earl [Buckingham] and the Earl of Montgomery danced with the Queen. * * * The Virginian woman Pocahuntas with her father counsellor have been with the King and graciously used, and both she and her assistant were pleased at the Masque. She is upon her return though sore against her will, if the wind would about to send her away."

¹ *Camden Soc. Pub.*, No. 76, p. 36. *Purchas*, IV, 1874.

² *Meade*, I, 82.

³ Nichols's *Progresses, etc.*, of *K. James*, vol. III, p. 243.

In the year 1616 the distinguished artist Simon De Passe engraved a portrait, small quarto size, with the following legend :

“Matoaka als Rebecka Filia Potentiss Princ: Powhatan
Imp. Virginiae.”

And beneath :

“Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan, Emperour of Attanoughkornouck als Virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor^{sh} Mr. Joh: Rolff. Æ 21 A^o 1616.”¹

Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague, dated March 29, 1617, writes: “The Virginian woman whose picture I sent you, died this last week at Gravesend, as she was returning homeward.”² Her boy named Thomas, probably after Dale, was left in England, and the father of the child, John Rolfe, having been appointed secretary, was intimately associated with the unscrupulous Argall, now made Governor of Virginia, and arrived, May 15th, at Point Comfort. The Company, on August 23, 1618, wrote to the latter :

¹ *Notes and Queries*, London, 2d series, vol. VII, p. 408.

² In the *Parish Register* of Gravesend is this entry :

“1616 May 2j Rebecca Wrothe
wyff of Thomas Wroth gent
a Virginia lady borne, here was buried
in ye chauncell.”

Notes and Queries, vol. V, p. 123, 3d series.



POCAHONTAS.

See Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia.



"We cannot imagine why you should give us warning that Opechankano and the natives have given the country to Mr. Rolfe's child, and that they reserve it from all others till he comes of years except as we suppose as some do here report it to be a device of your own, to some special purpose for yourself."

BEN JONSON ON POCAHONTAS.

The extravagant statements of John Smith in the *General History*, first published in 1624, called forth criticism, and he was charged with having written too much and done too little. In the preface to his *Travels and Adventures*, published in 1629, he states that "they have acted my fatal tragedies upon the stage, and racked my relations at their pleasure."

Jonson noticed his heroine, Pocahontas, in the *Staple of News*, first played in 1625. The following dialogue there occurs between Picklock and Pennyboy Canter :

Pick. "A tavern's as unfit too for a princess.

P. Cant. "No, I have known a Princess and a great one,
Come forth of a tavern.

Pick. "Not go in Sir, though.

P. Cant. "She must go in, if she came forth :
the blessed
Pocahontas, as the historian calls her,¹
And great king's daughter of Virginia,
Hath been in womb of tavern."

¹ Smith, in his dedication of the *General History* to the Duchess of Richmond, says :

"In the utmost of many extremities that blessed Pocahontas, the great King's daughter of Virginia oft saved my life."

ROLFE SUSPECTED OF UNFAIR DEALING.

The minutes of the Company do not give a very high opinion of Rolfe's honesty.

"April 30, 1621, Sir John Dañers signified that it was the request of my lady Lawarre unto this Courte, that in consideration of her goods remayning in the hands of Mr. Rolfe in Virginia, she might receaue satisfaction for the same out of his tobacco now sent home.

"But forasmuch as it is supposed the said tobacco is none of the said Rolf's but belonged to Mr. Peirce, it was thought fitt that Mr. Henry Rolfe should acquaint my lady Lawarre of his brother's offer (as he informes) to make her La'p good and faithfull account of all such goods as remayne in his hands, upon her La'ps direction to that effect."

Three months later there is an entry as follows :

"July 10, 1621. It was signified that the Ladie Lawarr desyred the court would please to graunt her a comission dyrected to Sir Fraunces Wyatt, Mr. George Sandys and others to examine and certifie what goods and money of her late husband's, deceased, came to the hands of Mr. Rolfe and to require the attendinge to his promise that she may be satisfied."

ROLFE'S WHITE WIFE AND CHILDREN.

During the year 1622 Rolfe died, leaving a wife and children, besides the child he had by Pocahontas. The

following statement appears in the books of the Company under date of October 7, 1622 :

“Mr. Henry Rolfe in his petition desiringe the estate his Brother John Rolfe deceased, left in Virginia might be enquired out and conuerted to the best use for the maintenance of his Relict wife and Children and for his indempnity hauing brought up the Child his said Brother had by Powhatan's daughter w'ch child is yet liuinge and in his custodie.

“It was ordered that the Governor and Counsell of Virginia should cause enquiries be made what lands and goods the said John Rolfe died seized of, and in case it be found the said Rolfe made no will, then to take such order for the petitioner's indempnity, and for the mayntenance of the said children and his relict wife¹ as they shall find his estate will beare (his debt unto the Companie and others beinge first satisfied) and to return unto the Companie here an Account of their proceedings.”

SICK INDIAN GIRL IN ENGLAND.

The Indian girls that accompanied Pocahontas to England, appear from the minutes to have been a care and expense to the Company. Under date of May 11, 1620, is the following entry :

“The Court takinge notice from S^r William Throgmorton that one of the maydes which Sir Thomas Dale brought

¹ If the mother of his infant Bermuda Rolfe was dead, then this relict wife was the third Mrs Rolfe.

from Virginia, a native of the countrie, who sometimes dwelt a servant with a mercer in Cheapside, is now verie weake of a consumption at Mr. Gough's in the Black Friers¹ who hath greate care, and taketh great paines to comforte her both in soule and bodie, wheruppon for her recoverie the compainy are agreed to be att the charge of of XX^s a weeke for two moneths (if it please god she bee not before the expiration thereof restored or dye in the mean season,) for the adminstring of Physick and cordialls for her health, and that the first paym't begin this day seavennight because Mr. Threr for this yeare reported his accompts set up.

"Sir W. Throgmorton out of his private purse for the same purpose hath promise to give XL^s all w'ch monney is ordered to be paid to Mr. Gough through the good assurance that the Company hath of his careful managinge."

The minutes also refer to two other "Virginia maydes."

¹ Rev. William Gouge, D. D., is evidently the person meant. He was educated at Cambridge, an eminent Puritan, cousin of Rev. Alexander Whitaker, called by Bancroft the Apostle of Virginia, and was noted for active benevolence, as well as for scholarship and pulpit oratory. In 1643 he was a member of the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines, and frequently occupied the moderator's chair. After a pastorate of forty-five years at Blackfriars, London, he died December 12, 1653, aged seventy-nine. When offered more profitable positions he always declined, saying that "his highest ambition was to go from Blackfriars to Heaven."

COMPANIONS OF POCAHONTAS SENT TO THE BERMUDAS.

At a Quarter Court, on the 15th of November, 1620, "There were appoynted to take care of the two Virginia maydes remaynninge in the custodie of M^r Webb the husband, viz M^r Casewell, M^r Roberts, M^r Canninge and M^r Webb who are likewise desyred to place them in good servises where they may learne some trade to live by hereafter for w^{ch} respect y^e Company hath promised to bestowe somethinge with them.

At a Preparative Court held in the afternoon of the 11th of June, 1621, "M^r Webb moved that some course might be taken that the two Indian maydes might be disposed of to free the Company of the weeklie charge that now they are att for the keeping of them.

"Whereuppon some haveinge moved that they might be sent to y^e Somer Ilands att the charge of this Company itt was thought fitt rather to referr itt to the next Court to determyne thereof."

At a great and general Quarter Court held the 13th of June, "Itt beinge referred to this Courte to dyrect some course for the dispose of two Indian maydes haveinge byne a longe time verie chargeable to y^e Company itt is now ordered that they shall be furnished and sent to the Summer Ilands whyther they were willinge to goe with our servants . . . towards their preferm't in marriage with such as shall accept of them with that meanes—with especial dyrection to the Gouv'nor and Counsell there for the carefull bestowinge of them."

Six months after this resolution, upon a proposition to bring over some Indian lads to be educated, Sir Edwin Sandys well remarked :

"Now to send for them into England and to have them educated here, he found upon experience of those brought by Sir Tho. Dale, might be far from the Christian work intended."

A few weeks after the Company's resolution, the Indian girls arrived at the Somers Islands to be married, "that after they were converted and had children, they might be sent to their Countrey and kindred to civilize them." The following year, Smith says, "the marriage of one of the Virginia maides was consummated with a husband fit for her, attended with more then one hundred guests, and all the dainties for their dinner could be provided."¹

Thomas Rolfe, the child of Pocahontas, after being educated, returned to Virginia, and his application to the Virginia authorities in 1641, to go to the Indian country to visit Cleopatra, his mother's sister, is on record.² The brilliant but eccentric John Randolph of Roanoke, it is said, prided himself upon his descent from the child of Pocahontas. Campbell, in his *History of Virginia*, states that the first Randolph that came to the James River was an esteemed and industrious mechanic, and that one of his sons, Richard, grandfather of John Randolph, married Jane Bolling, the great grand-daughter of Pocahontas.³

¹ *General History*, etc., London, 1632, pp. 197, 198.

² *Manuscript Va. Records* in Library of Congress.

³ Campbell's *History of Virginia*, 1860, pp. 424, 631.



CHAPTER VI.

ROLFE'S RELATION OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

AFTER Rolfe returned with Sir Thomas Dale to England, a Relation, under his name, was written, and addressed to the King. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage*, published in 1617, alludes to it and quotes therefrom. The manuscript is still in the British Museum, and in 1839 the Relation was first printed in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, published at Richmond, Virginia, from a copy of the original.

The following extracts give a very good picture of the condition of the colony in the year 1616 :¹

“Now that your highnes may with the more ease understand in what condition the colony standeth, I have briefly sett downe the manner of all men's several employments, the number of them, and the several places of their abroad, which places or seates are all our owne ground, not so much by conquest, which the Indians hold a just and lawfull title, but purchased of them freely, and they verie willingly selling it.

“The places which are now possessed and inhabited are sixe.

¹ It had been our intention to have published the entire relation, but the limits assigned for the work forbid.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|---|
| 1. Henrico and the lymitts | } Hundreds | Members belonging to ye
Bermuda Towne, a place
so called there, by reason
of the strength of the
situation, were it indif-
ferently fortified. |
| 2. Bermuda Nether | | |
| 3. West and Sherley | | |
| 4. James Towne | | |
| 5. Kequoughtan | | |
| 6. Dales-Gift | | |

“The generall mayne body of the planters are divided into

1. Officers.
2. Laborers.
3. Farmors.

“The officers have the charge and care as well over the farmors as laborers generallie — that they watch and ward for their preservacions; and that both the one and the other’s busines may be daily followed to the performance of those imployments, which from the one are required, and the other by covenant are bound unto. These officers are bound to maintayne themselves and families with food and rayment by their owne and their servants’ industrie.

“The laborers are of two sorts. Some employed onely in the generall works, who are fedd and clothed out of the store — others, specially artificers, as smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, taylors, tanners, &c., doe worke in their professions for the colony, and maintayne themselves with food and apparrell, having time lymitted them to till and manure their ground.

The farmors live at most ease — yet by their good endeavors bring yearlie much plentie to the plantation. They are bound by covenant, both for themselves and servants, to maintaine your Ma’ties right and title in that kingdom, against all foreigne and domestique enemies. To watch and ward in the townes where they are resident.

To do thirty-one dayes service for the colony, when they shalbe called thereunto — yet not at all tymes, but when their owne busines can best spare them. / To maintayne themselves and families with food and rayment — and every farmor to pay yearlie into the magazine for himself and every man servant, two barrells and a half a piece of their best Indian wheate, which amounteth to twelve bushells and a halfe of English measure. Thus briefly have I sett downe every man's particular imployment and manner of living ; albeit, lest the people — who generallie are bent to covett after gaine, especially having tasted of the sweete of their labors — should spend too much of their tyme and labor in planting tobacco, knowne to them to be verie vendible in England, and so neglect their tillage of corne, and fall into want thereof, it is provided for — by the providence and care of Sir Thomas Dale — that no farmor or other — who must maintayne themselves — shall plant any tobacco, unless he shall yearly manure, set and maintayne for himself and every man servant two acres of ground with corne, which doing they may plant as much tobacco as they will, els all their tobacco shalbe forfeite to the colony — by which meanes the magazin shall yearly be sure to receave their rent of corne ; to maintayne those who are fedd thereout, being but a few, and manie others, if need be ; they themselves will be well stored to keepe their families with overplus, and reape tobacco enough to buy clothes and such other necessities as are needeful for themselves and household. For an easie laborer will keepe and tend two acres of corne, and cure a good store of tobacco — being yet the principall commoditie the colony for the present yieldeth. For which as for other commodities, the councell and com-

pany for Virginia have already sent a ship thither, furnished with all manner of clothing, household stuff and such necessities, to establish a magazin there, which the people shall buy at easie rates for their commodities — they selling them at such prices that the adventurers may be no losers. This magazine shalbe yearelie supplied to furnish them, if they will endeavor, by their labor, to maintayne it — which wilbe much beneficiall to the planters and adventurers, by interchanging their commodities, and will add much encouragement to them and others to preserve and follow the action with a constant resolution to uphold the same.

“The people which inhabite the said six severall places are disposed as followeth :

“At Henrico, and in the precincte, (which is seated on the north side of the river, ninety odd myles from the mouth thereof, and within fifteen or sixteen myles of the falls or head of that river, being our farthest habitation within the land,) are thirty-eight men and boyes, whereof twenty-two are farmors, the rest officers and others, all whom maintayne themselves with food and apparrell. Of this towne one Capten Smaley hath the command in the absence of capten James Davis. Mr. Wm. Wickham minister there, who, in his life and doctrine, give good examples and godly instructions to the people.¹

“At Bermuda Nether Hundred, (seated on the south side of the river, crossing it and going by land five myles lower then Henrico by water,) are one hundred and nineteen — which seate conteyneth a good circuite of ground — the river running round, so that a pale cross a neck of

¹ He was not in orders.

land from one parte of the river to the other, maketh it a peninsula. The houses and dwellings of the people are sett round about by the river, and along the pale, so farr distant one from the other, that upon anie alarme, they can succor and second one the other. These people are injoynd by a charter, (being incorporated to the Bermuda toune, which is made a corporacoun,) to effect and performe such duties and services whereunto they are bound for a certain tyme, and then to have their freedome. This corporacoun admitt no farmors, unles they procure of the governor some of the colony men to be their servants, for whom (being no members of the corporacoun,) they are to pay rent corne as other farmors of this kind — these are about seventeen. Others also comprehend in the said number of one hundred and nineteen there, are resident, who labor generallie for the colonie: amongst whom some make pitch and tarr, potashes, charcole and other works, and are maintayned by the magazin — but are not of the corporacoun. At this place (for the most part) liveth capten Yeardley deputy marshal and deputy governor. M^r Alexander Whitaker, (sonne to the reverend and famous divine, D^r Whitaker,) a good divine, hath the ministerial charge here.¹

“At West and Sherley Hundred (seated on the north side of the river, lower than the Bermudas three or four myles,) are twenty-five, commanded by capten Maddeson — who are imployed onely in planting and curing tobacco, — with the profit thereof to clothe themselves and all those who labor about the generall business.

“At James Toune (seated on the north side of the river,

¹ Drowned early in 1617.

from West and Sherley Hundred lower down about thirty-seven myles) are fifty, under the command of lieutenant Sharpe, in the absence of capten Francis West, Esq., brother to the right ho'ble the L. Lawarre,—whereof thirty-one are farmors; all theis maintayne themselves with food and rayment. M^r Richard Buck minister there—a verie good preacher.¹

“At Keguoughtan (being not farr from the mouth of the river, thirty-seven miles below James Towne on the same side,) are twenty — whereof eleven are farmors; all those maintayne themselves as former. Capten George Wedd commander Mr. Wm. Mays minister there.²

“At Dales-Gift (being upon the sea, neere unto Cape Charles, about thirty myles from Keguoughtan,) are seventeen, under the command of one lieutenant Cradock; all these are fedd and maintayned by the colony. Their labor is to make salt and catch fish at the two seasons aforementioned.

“So the number of officers and laborers are two hundred and five. The farmors 81; besides women and children, in everie place some—which in all amounteth to three hundred and fifty-one persons—a small number to advance so great a worke.

“Theis severall places are not thus weakly man'd as capable of no greater number, for they will.

¹ Rev. Richard Buck arrived with Gates and Somers in 1610. He was chaplain of the first legislature that met, in July, 1619, at Jamestown. He died about 1624, leaving several sons, one of whom, Benoni, was the first idiot born in the colony.

² Rev. William Mease, the first minister at Hampton, arrived about 1611, and after ten years' residence returned to England.

“ The number of neate cattle, horses and goates, which were alive in Virginia at Sir Thomas Dale’s departure thence :

Cowes,	} 83	} in all { 144.
Heifers,		
Cow calves,		
Steeres, 41		
Bulles, 20		

Memorand : 20 of the cowes were great with calfe at his departure.

Horses, 3	} in all { 6.
Mares, 3	

Goates,	} male and female, in all { 216.
and	
Kidds,	

Hoggs, wild and tame, not to be numbered:

Poultry, great plenty.



CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNOR SAMUEL ARGALL.

DALE having returned to Holland early in 1617, Argall was appointed to succeed in the administration of affairs in Virginia, and after the death of Pocahontas, the ship in which he sailed left the coast of England, and on the 15th of May anchored off Point Comfort in Virginia, with about one hundred persons. In a few days, after five weeks' passage, Captain Martin also arrived in a pinnace. In a letter from Jamestown, dated on the 9th of June, Argall wrote to the Company that he had sent Tomakin,¹ whose wife was the sister of Pocahontas, to tell Opachankano of his arrival, and stated that since his return, this Indian "railed against England, English people, and particularly his best friend Sir Thomas Dale."

In the same communication he mentioned that the Rev. Alexander Whitaker had been drowned, and requested Sir Dudley Digges to obtain from the Archbishop a permit for Mr. Wickham to administer the sacrament, as there was no other person. It is evident that the Company were willing to employ ministers not in orders, for in the following March Argall again "desires ordination for Mr. Wickham, and Mr. Macock a Cambridge scholar also a person to read to Mr. Wickham his eyes being weak."

¹ Also spelled Tamocomo.

In view of the languishing condition of the colony, in April, 1618, the Lord Delaware, the Governor General, was dispatched by the Company in the ship Neptune, with two hundred men and supplies. After his departure the George came in from Virginia with such complaints of the malfeasance of Argall that the Company forwarded to him the following :

LETTER OF THE COMPANY TO DEPUTY GOVERNOR ARGALL.

Sr: Wee receaved your letters by the George directed to the right Hono^{ble} Lords, before the receipt whereof wee had finished ours w^{ch} wee purposed to have sent to you by this conueyance without expectinge the George's cominge, but by the unexpected contents of yours wee are driuen to lay aside our former and briefly to declare our minds in this wherein wee take no pleasure.

" You know howe many wayes you have bin proceedinge chargeable to the Companie not of late onely, but formerly when you converted the fruits of their expence to yo^r owne benefitt without being called to an Account; they have also put hono^{ble} reputation upon yo^r person and presuminge of yo^r wisdome and discrecon they made you Gouvernor to follow their Comission and Instrucons w^{ch} in the person and protestation of an honest gentleman you undertooke to doe.

" And therefore it is verie strange to us to see you so change and differ from yo^r selfe w^{ch} by yo^r words and deeds, being the testimony of yo^r minde wee do sensibly see and feele and in perticuler you intimate first unto us, that you hold yourself disparaged in that we sent you our last l^rres subscribed with so fewe hands, y^t wee termed you but Deputy Governor, and that we should think our Cape-

marchant a fitt man to deliver our l'res to your hands, you heape up also many unjust accusations against us and the Magazine, nourishinge thereby instead of pacifyinge y^e malcontented humors of such as seek to bring all to confusion, and to overthrowe which is sealed upon wise and equall termes to be props of the Plantation there, and the life of the Adventurers here, w^{ch} both undoubtedly must stand and fall together. But we shall easily put by all such yo^r weake imputacons when time shall serve to debate the particulers, and when we feare yo^r selfe will not be able to answeare yo^r owne Actions, yea yo^r owne l'res dated at James Towne in March 1617 shall justifie us in some of these particulars too change the magazine wherein you are contrarie to yo^r selfe.

“Tobacco and sassafras onely for wise causes are restrained at reasonable rates to the magazine, and you beinge Gouvernor restraine no man, but passengers and marriners bringe the greatest part of tobacco and all the sassafrass for themselves.

“It is laid unto yo^r charge that you appropriate the Indian trade to yo^r selfe, you use our ffrigott that came from the Somer Ilands and the other with our men to trade for yo^r owne benefitt, you proclaime in the Colony that no man shall trade with the Indians, nor any buy any ffurs but yo^r selfe. It is also certified that you take the ancient Planters of the Colony w^{ch} ought to be free and likewise those from the comon garden to sett them upon yo^r owne imployments, and that you spend up our store corne to feede yo^r owne men as if y^e Plantacon were onely intended to serve yo^r turne.

“Wee cannot imagine why you should giue us warninge y^t Opachankano, and the Natiues have given their coun-

try to M^r Rolfe's child and that they will reserve it from all others till he comes of yeares except as we suppose as some do here report it to be a deuise of yo^r owne to some especcial purpose for yo^r selfe, but whither yours or thers, wee shall little esteeme of any such consequence.

"You say you have disposed of all our kine accordinge to our Comission. It seemeth you neuer looke upon our Instruments, wee gaue you no such Comission but the contrary in expresse words, as that you should preserue and nourish them to y^e common use, only a few w^{ch} wee had disposed whereof we sent you the p^ticulars; wee thought it impossible when we made you Gouvernor y^t euer you should offer us this kinde of dealinge, not once to mean how many, to whome, nor for what consideration, but to do them all away of yo^r owne head, to take satisfaccon to yo^r selfe, wee must let you knowe wee allowe of no such sale, nor of the deliuey of any one cowe by you further than yo^r Instruments do expressly warrant.

"But answerable to this and the rest you have also delt with us for the Hyds about w^{ch} it is well knowne yo^r selfe what trouble we had with the L. Admirall and Spanish Ambassadour, and how dearly they cost us, and we know how much it would haue imported us to haue had them gone by this shipp as well for the reputacon of our returne as alsoe for helpinge to defray the great chardge of the voyidge, notwithstanding they very fayrly demanded of you, it hath pleased you there to stay them in your owne Custody and to suffer this shipp to come home with other mens goods and not vouchsafing to mention the Hyds in your general letter but in this manner; That being made Admirall you know how to dispose of unlawfull purchase, and by this we must understand the Hyds to be yours as

for the debts and wages w^{ch} you say you have payde for us wee maruell you doe not send us a noate of the particulars, for to our knowledge we are not in y^t kinde indebted to any man, if there be any such matter, or that you haue provided any stuff for the Colledge as you writt yett you must not imagine that wee are so insensible of reason as to suffer either of those to bee a cloake for you to detayne our hyds or to convey away all our Catle and Corne, either you must think highly of yo^r selfe or very meanelly of us, in y^t being our substitute you will presume to offer us these wrongs, and to suppose you may doe what you list in such a publique cause without being called to accompt, we haue therefore determined of a course and wee haue written to the Lord Gouvernour, w^{ch} we doubt not but his Lor^p will impart unto you and soe wee rest.

“ Your very louing freinds

“ London 22 August 1618.

“ THOMAS SMITH

“ LIONEL CRANFIELD

“ JOHN DAUER

“ JOHN WOLSTENHOLME

“ ROBERT JOHNSON.”

Unaware of the death of Delaware on the voyage, they also wrote to him the following :

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY TO LORD DELAWARE.

“ Wee are now enforced to write unto your Lo^p: of important matter of another nature which is touching Mr. Samuel Argall whom we made Governor in your Lord^{ps} absence. Wee make noe doubt but he has deliuered the Gouvernement with an accompt of his doings into your Lo^{ps}

hands. Wee have receiued from him by the George a very strange letter which together with those Informations we haue against him by sundry witnesses lately come from thence doe importe more discontent in the Aduenturers heare, and more hazard to the Plantation than euer did any other thing y^t befel that Action from the beginning. He's discontent that wee subscribed our Letter sent unto him with few hands, our terming him to bee but Deputy Gouvernour, hee disdayning to bee Deputy to any man, our letters to bee delivered unto him by soe meane a man as the Cape Merchant, with many such like which we pass ouer.

“And breifly wee must complayne to your Lo'p of his neglecting and transgressing our Commission and Instructions; first hee hath made away all the Kyne belonging to the Collony and taken satisfaction for them to himselfe, whereas wee gaue him express chardge in his Instructions to preserue and nourish them to the Common use except some few which wee had disposed, whereof wee writ him in particular. Hee has suffered passengers, mariners and others wthout restraynte to shipp most of the Tobacco and all the Sassafrass for themselves, which by order of Courte at certayne rates agreed upon are appropriated to the magazine. Hee armes himselfe and others wth uniust accusations agaynst us to overthrow the magazine, without w^{ch} wee know assuredly y^t neither the Aduenturers heare, nor the Plantation there can long subsist.

“He hath gotten possession and keepeth back our Hyds under pretence of being Admirall w^{ch} cost our joynt stock well neare 400^{lb}, with a great deale of toyle and trouble before wee could obtaine them, with his obstinate refusall to deliver them hee hath done us soe greate displeasure at

the returne of this ship that he could not haue watched to haue done us a greater.

“Hee hath forbidden all trade and commerce with the Indians but trades amongst them with the Summer Island Frigott, and our men to his owne benefitt. Hee takes the auncient Collony men which should now bee free, and our men from the Common Garden to sett them aboute his own imployment, and with the Collony’s share of Corne feeds his men, hee Proclaymes that noe man shall dare to buy any Furr of the Indians but himself as if the Plantation and People were ordayned onely to serue his turne.

“These and soe many like errours of his are layde to his charge for which the Aduenturers heere will noe way be satisfyd without his personal appearance to make his Answeare and they are hardly restrayned notwithstanding the Kings Court in progress from going to the Court to make there complaynte and to procure his Ma’t’s command to fetch him home and therefore pray your Lor’p to the avoyding of further scandall and slaunders to the Gouvernment of our Plantation y^t you will cause him to be shipped home in this ship the William and Thomas to satisfy the Aduenturers by answearing everything as shall be layde to his chardge, and for y^t wee suppose there will be found many misdemeanors of his for w^{ch} hee may make satisfaction to the Company we pray your Lor’p to ceaze upon his goods, as Tobacko and Furrs, whereof it is reported he hath gotten together great stoare to the Colonies prejudice, and so sending them to us to be in deposite till all matters be satisfyd and y^t your Lo’p would be pleased to take back agayne those kyne and Bullocks w^{ch} by his unlawfull sale are despersed heare and there, and y^t they may bee brought together agayne to the Collonies use, and to such others of

the Hundreds as the Generall Courte by yo^r Lo[']ps consent did order and appoynt."

Argall's desperate course continued during his whole term of office. Capt. Edward, the son of William Brewster, and agent for the late Lord Delaware's estate, having complained of the unlawful use of Delaware's servants by Argall, was arrested, and on October 15, 1618, tried by martial law and sentenced to death, but upon the petition of the ministers resident in the colony and others it was commuted to banishment, with the promise that he would not return.

The Earl of Warwick, who was a relative, sent him "an olde comission of hostility from the Duke of Savoy against the Spanyards," and the ship Treasurer "being manned with the ablest men of the Colony was sett out on rovinge in y^e Spanish Dominions in the West Indies," and after a successful cruise returned to Virginia with booty and "a certaine number of negroes." Discovering that Argall had escaped in the swift sailing pinnace Eleanor, and fearing the new Governor, Yeardley, Captain Elfred of the Treasurer sailed for the Somers Islands. In October, 1619, Capt. Nathaniel Butler became Governor of these islands, and he took from Miles Kendall fourteen negroes that had been given to the latter by the captain of a Holland vessel commissioned by the Prince of Orange, under the pretence that they belonged to the ship Treasurer which Argall had sent to rove in the West Indies.

All that we have known of the introduction of negro slaves in the year 1619, is the following brief statement of Rolfe quoted by Smith: "About the last of August came in a Dutch man of warre that sold us twenty negars."

Is there not a probability that the vessel was under the control of Argall, if not the ship Treasurer? If twenty negroes came in 1619, as alleged, their increase was very slow, for according to a census of 16th of February, 1624, there were but twenty-two then in the colony, distributed as follows: eleven at Flourdieu Hundred, three at James City, one at James Island, one at the plantation opposite James City, four at Warisquoyak, and two at Elizabeth City.

About the same time that "negars" began to be brought to the colony, commenced the arrivall of starving boys and girls picked up out of the streets of London.¹ In connection with this were great abuses. Sir Edward Hext, in October, 1618, wrote to the Privy Council:

"Upon complaint that Owen Evans, messenger of the Chamber, had a pretended commission to press maidens to be sent to Virginia and the Bermudas, and received money thereby, he issued a warrant for his apprehension. Evans's undue proceedings bred such terror to the poor maidens that forty have fled from one parish to obscure places, and their parents do not know what has become of them."

And on November 13th a clerk by the name of Robinson was hung, drawn and quartered for counterfeiting the great seal, and it was said "that another course of his, was by virtue of this commission, to take up rich yeomen's daughters, or drive them to compound, to serve his Majesty for breeders in Virginia."²

¹ *Sainsbury, State Papers*, p. 19.

² *Court and Times of James First*, II, 108.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE LEYDEN PURITANS.¹

THE members of the English Independent Church at Leyden, after mature deliberation, determined to go to America and "live as a distinct body by themselves under the general Government of Virginia, and by their friends to sue to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them freedom of religion; and that this might be obtained, they were put in great hope by some great persons of good rank and quality."² Two of their number, therefore, in 1617, visited London and "found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them go thither, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any."

To remove the objections of the King and others as far as possible, the following articles were prepared by the church at Leyden:³

"Seven Artikes which y^e Church of Leyden sent to y^e Counsell of England to bee considered of in respeckt of

¹ "Those whom we ordinarily call Puritans are men of strict life and precise opinions." *Discourse concerning Puritans*, London, 1641.

"The style of Puritans properly belongs to that vile sect of the Anabaptists, called the family of Love—such were Browne and Penry." James First in Preface to *Basilicon Doron*.

² *Bradford*, pp. 28, 29; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4 S., vol. III.

³ Furnished by Mr. Bancroft, and first printed in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 2d S., vol. III, Pt. 1.

their judgments occationed about their going to Virginia Anno 1618.

"1. To y^e confession of fayth published in y^e name of y^e Church of England & to every artikell thereof wee do wth y^e reformed churches where we live & also elsewhere assent wholly.

"2. As wee do acknolidg y^e doctryne of fayth there.taught so do wee y^e fruites and effectks of y^e same docktryne to y^e begetting of saving fayth in thousands in y^e land (conformistes and reformistes) as y^e ar called wth whom also as wth our brethren wee do desyer to keepe spirituall communion in peace, and will pracktis in our parts all lawfull things.

"3. The Kings Majesty wee acknolidg for Supreame Governor in his Dominion in all causes, and over all parsons, and y none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, either active, if y^e thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt bee, except pardon can bee obtayned.

"4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civil overseers, or officers in authority onder him, in y^e severall provinces, dioses, congregations in parrishes to oversee y^e Churches and governe them civilly according to y^e Lawes of y^e Land, unto whom y^e ar in all thinges to give an account & by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

"5. The authority of y^e present bishops in y^e Land wee do acknolidg so far forth as y^e same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them, and as y^e proceed in his name, whom wee will also therein honor in all things and him in them.

"6. Wee believe y^t no sinod, classes, convocation, or assembly of Ecclesiastical officers hath any power or authority att all, but as the same by y^e magestraet geven unto them.

"7. Lastly, wee desyer to give untto all Superiors dew honor to preserve y^e unity of y^e speritt wth all y feare God, to have peace with all men what in us lyeth, and wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any.

"Subscribed by

"JOHN ROBINSON

and

"WILLYAM BRUSTER."

After the articles had been examined by the Council for Virginia, Sir Edwin Sandys wrote to Robinson and Brewster the following letter:¹

"After my hartie salutations. The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver have been in communication with diverse selecte gentlemen of his Majesties Counsell for Virginia; and by y^e writing of 7 Articles subscribed with your names, have given them y^t good degree of satisfaction, which hath caried them on with a resolution to sett forward your desire in y^e best sorte y may be for your owne and the publick good. Divers particulars wherof we leave to their faithfull reports; having carried themselves heere with that good discretion as is both to their owne and their credite from whence they came. And wheras being to treat for a multitude of

¹ Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*, p. 31; first printed from the original manuscript in *Mass. Hist. Col.*, 4th series, vol. III.

people, they have requested further time to conferr with them that are to be interessed in this action, about y^e severall particularities which in y^e prosecution thereof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented too. And so they doe now returne unto you. If therefore it may please God so to directe your desires as that in your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by y^e same direction it shall likewise appear, that on our parte, all forwardnes to set you forward shall be found in y^e best note which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this designe (w^{ch} I hope verily is y^e worke of God) to the gracious protection and blessing of y^e Highest.

"London, Nov^{br} 12

"An^o: 1617.

Your very loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS.

To this letter an answer was sent, dated December 15, 1617, and on the 27th of the following January another letter was forwarded to Sir John Wolstenholme.

"Right Wor^{sh}: with due acknowledgments of our thankfullnes for your singular care and pains in the bussines of Virginia, for our & we hope the comone good, we doe remember our humble dutys unto you, and have sent inclosed, as is required a further explanation of our judgments in the 3 points specified by some of his majesties Hon^{bl} Privie Counsell; and though it be greevius unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us yet we are most glad of y^e occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed, the one more breefe and generall which we thinke y^e fitter to be presented; the other something more

large and in which we express some small accidental differences which if it seeme good unto you and other of our wor^{pl} freinds you may send instead of y^e former. Our prayers unto God is, y^t your Wor^{pp} may see the frute of your worthy endeauors, which on our part we shall not faile to further by all good meanes in us. And so praing y^t you would please with y^e convenientest speed y^t may be, to give us knowledge of y^e success of y^e bussiness with his Majesties Privy Counsell, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in y^e same, so we rest.

“Leyden Jan. 27,

“An^o 1617, old stile.

Your Wor^{pp} in all duty

JOHN ROBINSON

“WILLIAM BREUSTER.”

The seven articles of the Leyden people were examined in a publication written by T. Drakes, a clergyman of Essex.¹ In his pamphlet of *Counter Demands* he inquires: “Whether it were not good for them, for the avoiding of scandal, and in the expectance of some prosperous success by the permission of our noble King and honourable Counsel to remove to Virginia, and make a plantation there, in hope to convert Infidels to Christianity?”

A separatist by the name of Euring, in 1619, in a printed reply, states that his brethren would prefer to be members of a scriptural church in the meanest part of England “than either to continue where many of us as yet live, or to plant ourselves in Virginia. * * * Yet even for Virginia, thus much,—When some of ours desired to have planted ourselves there with his Majesty’s

¹ *Hanbury*, I, 359.

leave upon these three grounds first that they might be means of replanting the Gospel amongst the heathen; secondly that they might live under the Kings government; thirdly that they might make way for and unite with others, what in them lieth, whose consciences are grieved with the state of the Church in England; — the Bishops did by all means oppose them and their friends therein.”¹

About the middle of February, 1618, the letter of Robinson and Brewster was delivered to Wolstenholme, and he told the bearer of them that both the king and the bishops had consented to wink at their departure. Toward the close of August a party of nonconformists of Presbyterian rather than Independent sympathies, under the leadership of Francis Blackwell, who had been an elder in the Amsterdam church, sailed for Virginia. The voyage, owing to contrary winds, was tedious, and the ship being overcrowded, and their fresh water failing, one hundred and thirty, of one hundred and fifty persons on board, died, among others the captain of the vessel and Elder Blackwell.

Upon the return of Governor Argall to England, in May, 1619, who had secretly and dishonorably slipped away from Virginia, there was much dissension among the members of the Virginia Company, and the Leyden people for several months received no attention.

Thomas Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, before his death urged that Brewster and associate should receive a patent in the name of John Wincopp, and in the minutes of the Company the following appears under date of

¹ *Hanbury*, I, 368.

May 26, 1619. "One Mr. Wencop comended to the Company by the Earle of Lincolne,¹ intending to goe in person to Virginia, and there to plant himselfe and his associates, presented his pattent now to the Cort; w^{ch} was referred to the Comittee that meeteth upon Friday morning at M^r Treasurer's house to consider and if need be to correct the same."

Mr. Wincopp, Bradford states, was not a member of the congregation,² and that upon the advice of friends it was expedient that the patent should be in his name. The Company on the 9th of June ordered the seals to be annexed, as appears from the following entry:

"By reason it grewe late and the Court ready to breake up, and as yet M^r John Whincop's pattent for him and his associates to be read, it was ordered that the seale should be annexed unto it, and haue referred the trust therefore to the Auditors to examine that it agree wth the Originall, w^{ch} if it doth not they haue promised to bring it into the Court and cancell it."³

¹ He died the previous January. Johnson and Humphrey, who came with the first party to Salem, Mass., were sons-in-law.

² Dr. Samuel, Thomas, and John Wincop, were brothers and clergymen settled in different parts of England. On Easter Sunday, 1632, they preached at the same church, St. Mary's Spittle, London. May not John, in 1619, have been the tutor at the Earl of Lincoln's? Howe's edition *Stow's Survey of London*, p. 781.

³ Mr. Deane, the careful editor of *Bradford*, in a note on page 44, says: "We should like to know precisely when the Wincob patent was granted." The above minute shows that the 9th of June was the date. In a memorial presented to Congress of United States in 1868, by the writer, the 17th of June, by a misprint, appears as the date.

Bradford says: "God so disposed as he [Wincopp] never went, nor even made use of this patente which had cost them so much labour and charge."

The patent was sent over to Leyden for examination, and was probably taken there by Brewster. About the first of July Brewster and his family removed to London. Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague, in a dispatch of July 22, 1619, that Brewster "within these three weeks removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London," and a month later again writes, "I have made good inquiry after William Brewster at Leyden, and am well assured that he is not returned thither, neither is it likely he will having removed from thence both his family and goods." Capt. Edward Brewster, his son, also returned this year from Virginia and conformed to the church.

Several months after the Wincopp patent was sealed, another movement was made in the interest of the Leyden people.

At a general quarterly meeting on the 2d of February, 1619 (O. S.), at the house of Sir Edwin Sandys, near Aldersgate, he acquainted the Company of a grant to "John Peeirce and his associates their heires and assignes," which was read, examined and sealed in view of and with the approbation of the members present.

"It was ordered allso by generall Consent that such Captaines or leaders of perticular plantacons that shall goe there to inhabit by virtue of their graunts and plant themselves, their tenants and servants in Virginia shall have liberty till a forme of gouernment be there settled them, Associating unto them diuers of the grauest and discreetest of their Companies, to make Orders, Ordinances and Con-

stitutions for the better ordering and dyrectinge of their seruants and buisines, provided they be not repugnant to the Lawes of England."

Two weeks later, on February 16th, the following report was made :

"Whereas the last Court a speciall Comittee was appointed for the mananging of the £500 giuen by an unknowne person for educating the Infidles Children, Mr. Threr signified that they haue mett and taken into consideracon the proposicon of S^r John Wolstenholme, that John Peirce and his Associates might haue the trayninge and bringinge upp of some of these children ; but the said Comittee for diuers reasons think itt inconuenient; first because after their arivall will be longe in settlinge themselves, as also that the Indians are not acquainted with them, and so they may stay 4 or 5 years before they have account that any good is donne."

For several months the Leyden people looked around, but failed either to hire or purchase shipping for their transportation. The directors of the New Netherlands Company, on February 12, 1620, in a petition to the States-general, make the following statement :

"Now it happens there is residing at Leyden a certain English preacher versed in the Dutch language who is well inclined to proceed thither [Manhattan] and live assuring the petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him hither both out of this country and England."

A few days before this petition was presented, as has been stated, John Peirce, a cloth-worker of London, and his associates, obtained a grant of land from the Virginia Company, and Mr. Weston proceeded to Leyden in the interest of the patentees.

Bradford says: "Some Dutchmen made them faire offers about goeing with them. Also one Mr. Thomas Weston a m'chant of London came to Leyden aboute y^e same time * * * * perswaded them to goe on and not to medle with y^e Dutch or too much to depend on y^e Virginia Company; for if that failed, if they came to resolution he and such marchants as were his friends (together with their own meanes) would sett them forth."

During this visit articles of agreement were prepared for Weston to take back and submit to his associates. Mr. Weston and others about this time also informed them "y^t sundrie Hon^{ble} Lords had obtained a large grante from y^e King, for y^e more northerlie parts of that countrie derived out of the Virginia patente, and wholly secluded from the Governmente and to be called another name, viz New England. Unto which Mr. Weston and y^e cheefe of them begane to incline it was best for them to goe, as for other reasons so cheefly for y^e hope of present profite to be made by y^e fishing that was found in y^t countrie."¹

The distractions growing out of the petition of Sir Ferd. Gorges just presented to the King, for a charter excluding the South Colony from fishing within the limits of the North Colony, led to confusion and difference of opinion.

¹ Early in 1620 Gorges and associates petitioned the King for a new patent for the North Colony, to be called New England.

Some wished the Leyden people to go to Guiana,¹ and others desired them to go to Virginia. Weston insisted upon a modification of the articles drawn up at Leyden, and Pastor Robinson was disappointed that in the joint stock and partnership for seven years, two days in each week had not been secured for the private use of those that were planters. After heartburnings and dissensions within themselves, and doubts as to the fairness of the shipping merchants, the Leyden people at length sailed in the *May-flower* on 6th of September, and reached Cape Cod on the 11th of November, and after some explorations, on the 11th of December (O. S.) landed at Plymouth rock.²

¹ In May, 1620, Roger, a brother of Lord North, secretly embarked with a colony for the river Amazon, and by proclamation of the King his commission was revoked, his immediate return commanded, on seizure by any English vessels that may meet the expedition. *Sainsbury*, p. 23.

Wroth, in *Abortive of an Idle Hour*, 1620, says:

“They say a new plantation is intended
 Neere or about the Amazonian river
 But sure that mannish race is now quite ended,
 O that Great Jove, of all good gifts the giver
 Would move King James, once more to store that clyme,
 With the Moll Cut-purses of our bad time.”

² Cushman in a letter to Pastor Robinson, on June 20, 1620, wrote: “We have hired another pilote here, one Mr. Clarke who went last year to Virginia with a ship of Kine.” Clark was probably the same person referred to in the minutes of Virginia Company under date of February 13, 1621-2:

“Mr. Deputy acquainted the Court, that one Mr. Jo: Clarke beinge taken from Virginia longe since by a Spanish shippe that came to discover that plantacon, That forasmuch as he hath since that time donn the Companie good service in many voyages to Virginia, and of late went into Ireland for transportation of Cattle to Virginia, he was an humble

Before they landed it was whispered by the discontented "that when they came ashore they could use their own liberties; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for Newengland, which belonged to an other Government with which y^e Virginia Company had nothing to doe."¹

The May-flower did not until May 6, 1621, return to England, and on the first of the next month John Peirce, citizen and cloth-worker of London, and associates, took a patent from the Council of New England. At a meeting of the Virginia Company on July 16, of the same year,

"It was moved, seeing that Mr. John Peirce had taken a patent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and thereupon seated his company within the limits of the Northern Plantations as by some was supposed, whereby, as by some was supposed, whereby he seemed to relinquish the benefit of the patent he took of this Company, that therefore the said patent might be called in, unless it might appear he would begin to plant within the limits of the Southern Colony."

It would appear from this, that before June 1, 1621, when the Council of New England gave a patent, Peirce had some kind of agreement with Gorges, as he had always been inclined, in view of the profit from fishing, to settle the Leyden people in the North Colony.

suitor to this Court, that he might be admitted a free brother of the Companie, and have some shares of land bestowed upon him."

He was captured by the Spaniards in 1612. Was hired by Daniel Gookin, owner of the Providence, to take that ship to Virginia, which arrived April 10, 1623, and soon after this he died in the colony.

¹ Bradford, *Mass. His. Coll.*, 4 S., vol. 3, p. 89.



CHAPTER IX.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY—FIRST AMERICAN LEGISLATURE.

GEORGE YEARDLEY, a brother of Ralph Yeardley, a London apothecary, was a worthy, energetic man, who came to the colony in 1610, as one of Lord Delaware's captains. On the 5th of October, 1618, the news reached London of Delaware's death at sea, and soon after Yeardley, now in England, was made the successor of Argall. His appointment was noticed by Sir Philip Mainwaring in a letter to the Earl of Arundel, dated November 22, 1618 :

“This morning the King knighted the new Governor of Virginia, Sir Edward [George] Yardley, who upon a long discourse with the Kinge doth proue very understandinge. Amongst many other things he tould the King that the people of that country doe beleve the resurrection of the body and that when the body dyes the soule goes into certain faire pleasant feilds their to solace itself untill the end of the world, and then the soule is to retourne to the body againe and live both together happilly and perpetually. Hereupon the Kinge inferrd that the Gosple must have been heretofore knowne in that countrie though it be lost and this fragment only remaynes.”¹

¹ *Nichols*, III, 495 ; *Lodge, Ill. British History*, III, 293, 294.

Not being connected with the wealthy, there was some disposition to sneer at his elevation. Sir Dudley Carleton received a letter, dated November 28th, with these words :

“Here be two or three ships ready for Virginia and one Capt. Yardley a mean fellow by way of provision goes as Governor and to grace him the more, the King knighted him this week at New Market, which hath set him up so high, that he flaunts it up and down the street in extraordinary bravery, with fourteen or fifteen liveries after him.”¹

He sailed on the 19th of January, but owing to adverse weather it was the 19th of April, 1619, before he reached Jamestown. John Pory² went out as secretary of the

¹ Chamberlain in *Nichols's Progresses of James*, vol. III, p. 496.

² John Pory was a graduate of Cambridge, a great traveler and good writer, but gained the reputation of being a chronic tippler, and literary vagabond and sponger. When young he excited the interest of Hakluyt who in a dedication to the third volume of his remarks : “Now because long since I did foresee that my profession of Diuinitie, the care of my family and other occasions might call and divert me from these kind of endeavours, I therefore have for these three years last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories my very honest, industrious and learned friend Mr. John Pory, one of special skill and extraordinary hope to perform great matters in the same, and beneficial to the commonwealth.” Pory in 1600 prepared a *Geographical History of Africa*, but he soon disappointed the expectations of friends.

A letter writer on August 11, 1612, says : “It is long since I heard of Master Pory, but now at last understand he lies lieger at Paris, maintained by the Lord Carew.”

Sir Dudley Carleton wrote, on July 9, 1613, from Venice : “Master Pory is come to Turin with purpose to see those parts, but wants *primum necessarium*, and hath, therefore, conjured me with these words — by the

colony, who was a fine scholar, but addicted to intemperance. Argall was informed, by a swift sailer dispatched by his friends, that he was to be placed under arrest, and

kind and constant intelligence which passeth betwixt you and my best friends in England — to send him fourteen doubloons, wherewith to disengage him, where he lies in pawn, not knowing how to go forward or backward. I have done more in respect of his friends than himself, for I fear he is fallen too much in love with the pot to be much esteemed, and have sent him what he wrote for by Matthew, the post."

A correspondent of Carleton wrote, on August 1 of the same year: "You had not need meet with many such poor moths as Master Pory, who must have both *meat and money*, for *drink* he will find out himself, if it be *above ground*, or no deeper than the *cellar*."

Sir Dudley Carleton, on August 22, 1617, writes from Hague to a friend: "If Mr. Pory have done with Constantinople, and can *Star Saldo* against the pot, which is hard in this country, he shall be welcome unto me, for I love an old acquaintance." After visiting Constantinople he was, for a brief period in 1617, an attaché of the English legation at the Hague, about the time of the residence there of the learned Puritan divine, Dr. William Ames, whose preaching the English Ambassador attended. In 1619 he was made secretary of the colony of Virginia, and after his recall, while returning to England, he stopped at the infant Plymouth settlement and had pleasant intercourse with Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster, with whom he may have been acquainted in Holland, and received from them some books, which he esteemed as "jewels," he says, in a note to Bradford dated August 28, 1622, and signed, "Your unfeigned and firm friend." See Bradford's *New Plymouth*.

A letter from London, dated July 26, 1623, says: "Our old acquaintance, Mr. Pory, is in poor case, and in prison at the Terceras, whither he was driven, by contrary winds, from the north coast of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery, and upon his arrival he was arraigned and in danger to be hanged for a pirate."

In the fall of 1623 he was appointed by the King to go to Virginia and report the condition of the colony. He returned the next year, and died about 1635.

escaped before Yeardley came, and was in London early in May.

At the same time that Yeardley was appointed Governor, orders were given for the establishment of a university in Virginia, with a branch college for the education of Indian youth. Soon after Dale came back to England the King had ordered that collections should be taken up in each diocese of England, for the planting of a college in the colony. In their instructions, on November 18, 1618, the Company use these words: "Whereas, by a special grant and licence from his Majesty, a general contribution over this Realm hath been made for the building and planting of a college for the training up of the children of those Infidels in true Religion, moral virtue, and civility, and for other godlyness, We do therefore, according to a former Grant and order, hereby ratifie, confirm and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a University at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the mean time preparation be there made for the building of the said College for the Children of the Infidels, according to such instructions as we shall deliver. And we will and ordain that ten thousand acres, partly of the lands they impaled, and partly of the land within the territory of the said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said University and College with convenient possessions."¹

A week after the date of this communication, a ripe scholar in England, the Rev. Thomas Lorkin, subsequently distinguished as secretary of the English embassy in

¹ Manuscript instructions to Yeardley, *Va. Records*, small folio, in Library of Congress.

France, writes to an acquaintance: "A good friend of mine propounded to me within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of £200 a year and better, and if I should find there any ground of dislike, liberty to return at pleasure. I assure you, I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much incline to accept it. I will do nothing rashly; your allowance or disallowance of the motion may sway me either way, to embrace it or refuse it."¹

Yeadley's earliest efforts were to reform the abuses that had been allowed by his predecessor. The first letters received from England informed him of a change in the officers of the Company, and he heartily cooperated with the new directorship.

"In James Citty" he found "only those houses that Sir Thomas Gates built in the tyme of his government, with one wherem the Governor allwayes dwelt, and a church built wholly at the charge of the inhabitants of that citye, of timber being fifty foote in length and twenty foot in breadth."²

At Henrico "three old houses, a poor ruined church, with some few poore buildings in the Islande. For ministers to instruct the people, he founde only three authorized, two others who never received their orders."³

¹ He did not accept. *Court and Times of James First*, II, pp. 109, 110.

² *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d series, vol. III, pt. 1, p. 331. In 1639 a brick church was commenced.

³ Ministers in orders, Rev. Richard Buck, William Mease, and Mr. Bargrave, a nephew of Capt. Bargrave, who established in 1618 the first

It was granted by the Company that there should be an annual General Assembly, to be composed of the Governor and Council, and two burgesses from each plantation, to be freely elected by the inhabitants thereof.

The first representative legislative assembly ever held within the limits of the United States, convened on July 30, 1619, at Jamestown. The chancel of the church was the place of meeting, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Buck, the minister of the place. The Burgesses were then requested to retire to the body of the church, and there in order they were called up to take the oath of supremacy, and enter the Assembly.

John Pory, appointed Speaker, sat in front of Governor Yeardley, and next was John Twine, Clerk of the House, and at the bar stood Thomas Pierse, Sergeant-at-arms.¹

private plantation. He died in 1621, and left his library, valued at 100 marks, to the college at Henrico. Those not in orders, were Mr. Wm. Wickham and Samuel Macock, a Cambridge scholar, and both made members of Yeardley's Council.

¹ Members of Virginia House of Burgesses, 1619.

For James City.

Captaine William Powell^a

Ensigne William Spense.

For Charles City.

Samuel Sharpe^b

Samuel Jordan.^c

For the City of Henricus.

Thomas Dowse^d

John Polentine^e

For Kiccowtan.

Captaine William Tucker^f

William Capp.^g

^a Gunner of James City, died 1622. Widow married Mr. Blany.

^b In 1627 visited England in the *Temperance*, Capt. Marmaduke Reyner.

^c Probably died in 1623, leaving a wife named Cicely.

^d Dowse came to Virginia in 1608.

^e Pollington visited England in 1626.

^f For many years a councillor of Virginia.

^g An ancient planter, was living in 1630.

The delegates from Captain John Martin's plantation were excepted to because of a peculiar clause in his patent releasing him from obeying any order of the colony except in times of war. On Monday, the second of August, Capt. Jno. Martin appeared at the bar of the House, and the Speaker asking whether he would relinquish the particular clause exempting him from colonial authority, replied, that he would not yield any part of his patent. The Assembly then resolved that the Burgesses of his plantation were not entitled to seats.

On the same day several enactments were passed, among others the following: Against drunkenness it was decreed that any person found drunk, for the first time was to be reproved privately by the minister; the second time, pub-

For Martin Brandon, Capt. Jno.

Martins.

Mr. Thos. Davis

Mr. Robert Stacy.

For Smythe's Hundred.

Captaine Thomas Graves

Mr. Walter Shelley.

For Martin's Hundred.

Mr. John Boys ^a

John Jackson.

For Argal's Guifte.

Mr. Pawlett

Mr. Gourgainy.

For Flowerdieu Hundred.

Ensign Rossingham ^b

Mr. Jefferson.

For Captain Lawne's Plantation.^c

Captaine Christopher Lawne

Ensign Washer.

For Captain Wardes Plantation.

Captaine Warde ^d

Lieutenant Gibbes.

^a Killed in massacre of 1622.

^b Nephew of Yeardley. Was in England in 1640.

^c Lawne died in 1620, and then called Isle of Wight Plantation. His plantation was commenced in 1618.

^d Ward came with Bargrave about 1618.

*Lawne's plantation: Isle of Wight and
after him.*

licly; the third time, "to lye in boltes" twelve hours and pay a fine, and if he still persisted, to be subjected to such severe punishment as the Governor and Council should deem proper.

"Against excessive apparall; that every man be cessed in the church for all publique contributions, if he be unmarried, according to his owne apparell; if he be married according to his owne and his wives, or either of their apparell."

The following action was taken relative to Indian education :

"Be it enacted by this present Assembly, That for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, eache towne, Citty, Burrough and particular plantation, do obtaine unto themselves by just meanes a certain number of the natives children to be educated by them in true religion and a civile course of life; of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the firste elements of litterature, so as to be fitted for the Colledge intended for them, that from thence they may be sent to that worke of conversion."

On the 3d of August John Rolfe presented a petition complaining "against Captain John Martine for writing a letter to him wherein (as Mr. Rolfe alledged) he taxeth him both unseemly and amisse of certain things wherein he was never faulty."

The next day being the last of the session, the Speaker was authorized to send a report of their transactions to the

Company in England, and the Governor prorogued the Assembly until the first day of the following March.

The report made by Mr. Pory, the Speaker and Secretary of the colony, was first printed in 1857, in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*.

Governor Yeardley's¹ commission expired in November, 1621, and declining its renewal, was succeeded by Governor Wyatt.

¹ Gov. Yeardley with his instructions, in November, 1618, received the grant of Weymock, and a parcel adjoining called Kouwan, part upon a creek called Mapscock, and from the head thereof to the head of Queen's creek, within the territory of Charles City. He also owned a large plantation at Hungars, in Northampton county, eastern shore of Virginia. His wife's name was Temperance, and it is supposed his sympathies were with the Puritan party. When Wyatt retired, Yeardley again assumed the duties of governor, having been in England at the time of his appointment, in April, 1626. He sailed in the *Ann*, with the James as a consort. He died lamented, in November, 1627, and left two sons, Argall, and Francis who was a native of Virginia. Both were on the Puritan side during the civil war. Francis for a time lived in Maryland as one of its councillors. In the second volume of *Thurloe's State Papers* there is a letter from him to John Ferrar, former deputy of Virginia Company, dated Lynn Haven, Virginia, May 8, 1654, giving an account of his explorations in North Carolina, the previous fall.



CHAPTER X.

REORGANIZATION OF COMPANY, AND TRANSACTIONS DURING THE DIRECTORSHIP OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS.

BEFORE the annual election of 1619, a large majority of the members were convinced of the propriety of electing a new Treasurer, and when Sir Thomas Smith found that his resignation was promptly accepted, he was greatly chagrined.

Robert Cushman in a letter to his Leyden companions dated May 8, 1619, gives a generally correct statement of the condition of the Company :

“The maine hinderance of our proseedings in y^e Virginia bussines is y^e dissentions and factions as they terme it among y^e Counsell & Company of Virginia ; which are such as that ever since we came up no busines could by them be dispatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, for that a while since S^r Thomas Smith repining at his many offices & troubles wished y^e Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being Treasurer & Gover^r of y^e Virginia Company. Wereupon y^e Company tooke occasion to dismisse him and choose S^r Edwin Sands Treasurer & Gover^r of y^e Company. He having 60 voyces S^r John Worstenholme 16 voices, and Alderman Johnson

24.¹ But S^r Thomas Smith when he saw some parte of his honour lost, was very angrie, and raised a faction to cavill & contend aboute y^e election, and sought to taxe S^r Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him, and allso put him by his office of Governour. In which contentions they yet stick and are not fit nor readie to intermedle in any bussines, and what issue things will come to we are not yet certaine. It is most like S^r Edwin will carrie it away and if he doe, things will goe well in Virginia, if otherwise they will goe ill enough allways. We hope in some 2 or 3 Court days things will settle.”²

As soon as Sir Edwin Sandys accepted the office of Treasurer or Governor of the Company, its affairs were reorganized. For the first time a journal of the transactions of each meeting was prepared by the Secretary, and every officer was held to a strict accountability.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COMPANY'S TRANSACTIONS FROM THE ELECTION OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS AS TREASURER, APRIL 28, 1619, UNTIL THE ELECTION OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, JUNE 28, 1620.

“28 Aprill 1619. A Quarter Court held for Virginia at S^r Thomas Smith's howse in Philpott Lane.

Sir Thomas Smith's retiring Speech.

“This Quarter Court according to the L^res Pattents being chiefly ordayned for the eleccon of offisers Mr. Trer

¹ The correct vote was Sandis 59, Wolstenholme 23, Johnson 18. See page 145.

² Bradford in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th series, vol. III, pp. 36, 37.

desired the Court that before he left his place, he might acquaint them with two messages lately rec. from the King: The one was that he received a l're from Mr. Secretarie Caluert that his Ma'tie had sent a man up suspected for deere stealing to be transported for Virginia; and understanding that Mr. John Ferrar had a shipp shortly to goe thither desired that his Ma'ties resolution might be fulfilled therein. The other was that this morning there came a messenger of the Chamber to understand of the welfare of the Plantation, his Ma'ty having heard that a shipp was come from thence: And so desired the Court to proceed to the choice of their Officers, signifying that for these Twelue yeares he hath willingly spent his Labors and endeauors for the support thereof; and being now appointed by the Kinge a Commissioner of the Nauie he could not giue such good attendance as he therein desired. Requesting the Court to shewe him so much fauor as now to dispence with him, and to elect some worthy man in his place for he had resolved to relinquish it, and therefore desired that two requests might be graunted him for all his seruice done unto them.

"First, that he might haue their good report according as he hath deserued. And secondly that his Account might be with all speed audited, that before he dyed he might see the same cleered, and receiue his Quietus est under the Companie's seale.

Sir Edwin Sandys elected Treasurer.

"Which the Cort finding his resolucon to be settled and that he would not stand in eleccion they proceeded according to the Last standing order now read to make choice of their Treasurer. Sr Edwin Sandis Sr John Wolstenholme,

and Mr. Aldran Johnson being nominated and accordingly ballated, the lott fell to S^r Edwin Sandis to be Tre'r he hauing 59 balls, S^r Jo. Wolstenholme 23, and Aldran Johnson 18, whereupon his oath was administered.

John Ferrar elected Deputy Treasurer.

"Proceeding to the eleccon of the Deputy, there was nominated Mr. Alder. Johnson, Mr. Xpofer Cletheroe, and Mr. John Ferrar, who being ballated Mr. John Ferrar was elected Deputy for the ensuing yeare by hauing 52 balls, Mr. Aldran Johnson 29 Mr. Christopher Cletheroe ten; upon which the said Mr. John Ferrar had his oath giuen.

Captain Daniel Tucker.

"Upon the request of Captaine Daniell Tucker for this Court to conferr 20 shares upon him for his fiue yeares service spent in Virginia, as well for his personall aduentures as for the severall offices and eminent places w^{ch} there he held, and executed as namely Cape Merchant Prouost M^l one of the Counsell, Truck M^r and Vice Admirall, wherein by reason of shortness of time, was now referred to the Generall Committee to giue him reward as they shall thinke fitt.¹

The College in Virginia.

May 26. "It was also by Mr. Tre'r propounded to the Co^rt as a thing most worthy to be taken into consideracon both for the glory of God, and hon^r of the Company, that forasmuch as the King in his most gracious fauo^r hath

¹ Tucker was a clerk under Lord Delaware in 1610. See p. 43.

graunted his L^res to the severall Bishops of this Kingdome for the collecting of monies to erect and build a Colledge in Virginia for the training and bringing up of Infidells children to the true knowledge of God and understanding of righteousnes. And considering what publique notice may be taken in foreshowing to sett forward the action, especially of all those w^{ch} hath contributed to the same, that therefore to begin that pious worke, there is allready towards it 1500^{lb} or thereabouts, whereof remayninge in cash 800^{lb}, the rest is to be answered out of the stock of the Generall Company for so much w^{ch} they borrowed, besides the likelihood of more to come in: For Mr. Treasurer hauing some conference with the Bishop of Lichfield he hath not heard of any Collecon that hath beene for that busines in his Dicocess; but promisith when he hath a warr^t thereunto he will with all dilligence further the enterprize;

“Whereupon he conceaued it the fittest, that as yet they should not build the Colledge, but rather forbear a while, and begin first with the monees they haue to provide and settle an Annuall reuenue, and out of that to begin the erecon of the said Colledge: And for the performance hereof also would that a certain peece of Land be laid out at Henrico, being the place formerly resolued of, w^{ch} should be called the Colledge Land, and for the plantinge of the same send presently fifty good persons to be seated thereon, and to occupy the same according to order, and to haue halfe the benefitt of their labo^rs, and the other halfe to goe in getting forward the worke and for mayntenance of the Tutors and Schollers.

“He therefore propounded that a Shipp might be provided against the beginning of August, to carry those fiftie

men with the prouisions, and also to send fiftie persons more to the Comon Land w^{ch} may raise a Stock for the paying of duties there and defraying the Companies charge here, and to send prouision of victualls with them for a yeare: And for the defraying of the charge hereof did also propound the meanes; first for the Colledge there was money in cash, and besides it may saue the joint-stock the sending out a shipp this yeare, w^{ch} for 4^d a pound they will bring from thence all their Tobacco, w^{ch} may arise to ffiue hundred pounds, besides many that may come in otherwise to helpe to beare the charge of the voyage: W^{ch} proposition was well liked, but the time and season not allowed of all, and by some obiected, that the Generall Plantation should receaue much wrong, if more men were sent over so sodaynly before those that are allready gone have procured wherewithall to subist: as also being a matter of great consequence it did more properly belong to the deciding of a Quarter Co^t, but the former reasons being answered, and being further alleaged if it were till then prolonged, the time would be past for their prouisions of beefe, beere and meate. Whereupon after long arguing and disputing thereof it was agreed to be putt to the question; Which being propounded whether a shipp should be sett out to carry men for these two good uses, and be sett out at the publike charge (vizt) with 50 passengers for the Colledge Land, and 50 for the Comon Land, ✓ it was by generall consent and erecon of hands allowed and confirmed.

Quarter Court, June 9. "A former Act of Court made 26th die Maij touching the setting out a Shipp wth one hundred men for the Colledge and publike land was now again propounded by Mr. Thr^{er}. Which being putt to the

question, received the confirmacon of the Court; and agreed that the said shipp should be ready to sett out soon after the middest of July at the furthest, that by the blessing of God they may ariue there by the end of October w'ch is the fittest and seasonablest time for men to doe some busines.

The Ship Gift returned from Virginia.

June 14. "The Guift being now returned from Virginia and hauing brought l'res from S^r George Yeardley directed to S^r Edwin Sandis intimating the sore voyage they had: being going thither from the 19th of January to the 19th of Aprill following, In w'ch time there dyed 14 Landmen, and three seamen as also that two children was borne at sea and dyed, and at his there arriuell finding the Plantacon to be in great scarsity for want of corne, desired the Company to beare with him if for this yeare he something neglected the planting of Tobacco, and followed the sowing of corne, whereby the next yeare he hoped by the blessing of God to raise such a cropp thereof that the said Plantacon shall haue noe greate cause to complaine it hath of want. Other priuate business Mr. Thr'er acquaynted the Court was specified in his L'res w'ch is first to receaue the aduise of the Counsell, and by their direccons to reueale it to the Court.

People for the College Lands.

"It was moued by Mr. Thr'er, that the Generall Committee should forthwith meete for the setting out this shipp and furnishing of her with good people to be sent to the Colledge and publique Land, w'ch hitherto by defect thereof, the Plantacon hath been much wronged: w'ch if

the Court would put them in trust for the providing of such they would intreate the Gentlemen both of County and Citty to helpe them therewith w^{ch} motion the Court comended, and haue desired Mr. Thrers assistance therein.

“It was moued by Mr. Threr that the Court would take into consideracon to appoint a comittee of choice gentlemen and other of his Ma'tys counsell for Virginia concerning the colledge, being a waighty busines, and so greate that an Account of their proceedings therein must be giuen to the State. Upon which the Court, upon deliberate consideracon, have recomended the care thereof unto the right wo. S^r Dudley Diggs, S^r John Dauers, S^r Nath. Rich, S^r Jo. Wolstenholme, Mr. Deputy Ferrar, Mr. Dr. Anthony and Mr. Dr. Gulson, to meete at such time as Mr. Treasurer shall giue order thereunto.¹

Patent for Sundry Kentish Men.

“It was agreed upon the mocon of S^r Dudley Digges and S^r Thomas Catto into the Court about a Pattent to be graunted unto sundry Kentish men, who would seate and plante themselves in Virginia, that they should haue as Large priuiledges and immunities as is graunted to any other in that kinde.

¹ On June 24th the committee made a report on college business which space compels us to omit. In an article on education in Virginia during 17th century, prepared at the request of the United States Commissioner of Education, the writer has given in full the action of the Company relative to schools.

Unseemly Language of late Deputy Johnson.

July 13. "A Court held for Virginia at S^r Thos. Smith's howse in Philpott Lane.¹

"The busines by the Last Court referred unto the Counsell touching some unseemly words giuen by Mr. Aldran Johnson unto Mr. Th^rer, to be censured by them, they hauing mett as they were desired and thereon considered did now deliuer their conclusion unto the Courte, where after a long disputacon and reprove of the offence comitted by Mr. Alderman, and a general cleering of Mr. Th^rer by ereccon of hands, and euery man's testimony of the scandall imputed unto him by Mr. Alderman that he should moue any of the Company by indecent Language; It was agreed that for preuenting the Like abuse to the Th^rer hereafter, the former Comittee, that is to say the Lord of Southampton, the Lo. of Warwick, S^r Jo. Daüers, S^r Tho. Gates, S^r Nath. Rich, Mr. Jo. Wroth, Mr. Geo. Thorpe and Mr. Deputy fferrar to whome this busines was formerly referred now adding unto their number S^r Jo: Wolstenholme, S^r Tho. Wroth, should set downe in writing to be entered in the Court bookes the iustification w^{ch} the Court hath giuen to Mr. Th^rer, And should withall propose to the consideration of the Court the forme of some iust Lawe for the preuenting of the like wrong and abuse in future tyme.

¹ The meetings of the Company, after the election of Sandys, were usually held at Mr. Ferrar's house in St. Sithe's Lane.

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Communion Set for the College.

July 21. "There was at the sitting downe of the Court by an unknowne person presented to Mr. Threr the letter following

+
I. H. S.

"SIR EDWIN SANDYS, *Threr of Virginia* :

"Good luck in the name of the Lord, who is dayly magnified by the experiment of your zeale and piety in giuinge begining to the foundation of the Colledge in Virginia, the sacred worke so due to Heaven and soe longed for on earth.

"Now knowe wee assuredly that the Lord will doe you good and blesse you in all your proceedings, even as he blessed the howse of Obed Edom and all that pertayne to him because of the Arke of God. Now that yot seeke the Kingdome of God, all thinges shall be ministred unto you. This I well see allready, and perceiue that by this your godlie determinacon the Lord hath giuen you fauor in the sight of the people, and I knowe some whose hearts are much enlarged because of the howse of the Lord our God to procure you Wealth, whose greater designs I have presumed to outrun with this oblacon, which I humbly beseech you may be accepted as the pledge of my devocon, and as an earnest of the vowes which I have vowed unto the Almighty God of Jacobb concerning this thing, which till I may in part perform I desire to remayne unknowne and unsought after. •

"The things are these :

"A Communion Cup with the couer and vase ;

- " A Trencher plate for the bread
- " A Carpett of crimson veluett
- " A Linnen damaske table cloth.

Polonians in Virginia Enfranchised.

"Upon some dispute of the Polonians resident in Virginia it was now agreed (notwithstanding any former order to the contrary law) that they shalbe enfranchized and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever. And because their skill in making pitch and tarr and sope ashes shall not dye with them, it is agreed that some young men shalbe put unto them to learne their skill and knowledge therein for the benefitt of the country hereafter.

Summer Recess.

"The order of the Last Cor^t touching the dissolving of the Courte till Michaelmas time being now putt to the question was ratified by Generall consent.

First Meeting after Vacation.

Oct. 20. "It was made known by Mr. Deputy that the time being expired wherein during this term of vacansye the General Courte (according to order) have discontinued; they are now to proceed again in their due course euery fortnight, this day month being a Generall q'rter Court: And allthough Mr. Treasurer be yet absent, the Company will finde at his coming up next weeke that he hath not been wanting to the seruice of Virginia, but both his minde and time wholly imployed in their business, contriuing the meanes of sending large supplies of men and Cattle for Virginia this next spring.

Dissolute Persons to be Transported.

"A l're being sent from his Ma^{ty} directed to Mr. T'rer and Counsell for the sending diuers dissolute persons to Virginia w'ch S^r Edward Zouch kn't Marshall will giue informacon of: after the Counsell had perused the same was brought to the boord and read to the Company, w'ch considering there was noe present meanes of conueying them to Virginia thought fitt to reserue the full answeere to his Ma^{ty} l're till the next Court when with the Lords and Mr. Treasurer it might be agreed how his Ma^{ty}'s comaunds might most speedily and conueniently be effected: In the meane while S^r Jo. Dauers promised to acquaynt Mr. Secretarie Caluert, and S^r Edw: Zouch the reason that they haue not yet set sent answeere to his Ma^{ty} gracious L're.

Nov. 3. "According to the refference in the Last Court his Ma^{ty} L're was now taken into most dutiful consideration and it was agreed with all conueniencie to fulfill his Ma^{ty} comaund, and to send them ouer to be seruants, w'ch will be very acceptable unto the Inhabitants as Mr. Thr'er hath understood from them, and in the meane time till they may be sent, w'ch will be about January Mr. Treasurer showed that in like case the Lo: Maior had been solicited to giue order for the keeping of them in Bridewell, w'ch was answered to be performed already and the Court desired Mr. Treasurer to giue his Ma^{ty} an answeere by Mr. Secretary Caluert.

Coat of Arms for Virginia.

"Whereas formerly a seale for the Company called the Legall Seale was referred unto a Committee to consider in what manner it should be, and nothing as yet done therein:

It was agreed that Mr. Harecutious be intreated to give the Auditors sometimes a meeting at S^r Edwin Sandis, where they will devise to take a Cote for Virginia and agree upon the Seale.

Nov. 15. "Touching the Legal Seale spoken of in the Last Court the Auditors at their Assembly haue therein taken some paynes w^{ch} they now presented to this Courte : And whereas they had spoken to one for the cutting of it, there is one Mr. Hole who would appropriate that unto himselfe under pretence of hauing a Pattent for the engrauing of all seales, w^{ch} hath the Kinges arms, but not for any part thereof, and there fore appointed them to repaire to Mr. Xtofer Brooke¹ of Lincolne's Inn to examine it, and to bring his opinion under his hand in writing and accordingly it should be determined.²

¹ Brooke was the son of the Lord Mayor of York. Was a student of Lincoln's Inn, and a poet as well as jurist. In 1613 he published an *Elegy on the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales*. Browne, a poet of the day, speaks of him as

" Brooke whose polished lines
Are fittest to accomplish high designs."

² The Mr. Hole referred to in the minute was William Hole, or Hoole, engraver of the map of Virginia, printed in 1612, and reissued in 1624 in Smith's *General History*. In 1618 he obtained a life grant as "sculptor of the iron for money." The following anecdote from the *Weever Manuscripts* is told by Hunter:

King James evidently did not like the proceedings of the Virginia Company, and when the device of the seal was presented to him, where on one side was St. George slaying the dragon, with the motto *Fas Alium superare draconem*, meaning the unbelief of the natives, he commanded that the motto should be omitted. The motto on the other side, *En dat Virginia quintum*, allusive to the four crowns was in the taste of the times. The "Cote for Virginia," with a slight alteration of the

Collections for the College.

"Mr. Trer desired the allowance of this Court of one thing agreed of by the Auditors and Comittee of the Colledge w'ch was that 1400' of mony in all being receiued of the collecon monyes by S^r Tho: Smith, of w'ch upon seuerall occasions there was rented by way of Loane for the use of the Company eight Hundred pounds the Remainder being 500' odd mony now paid unto Mr. Treasurer: Therefore that the said 800' might be reimbursed

motto, was used by the colony until its separation from Great Britain. The escutcheon is quartered with the arms of England and France, Scotland and Ireland, crested by a maiden queen with flowing hair and eastern crown. Supporters: Two men in armor, beavers open, helmets ornamented with three ostrich feathers, each holding a lance. Motto: *En dat Virginia quintum.*

Spenser, Raleigh's friend, dedicated his *Fairy Queen* to Elizabeth, "Queen of England, France, Ireland and Virginia." After James of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England, Virginia would be in compliment called a fifth kingdom.

In an edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, published in 1632, the coat of arms appears with the motto, *En dat Virginia quintam*, and it may be that the *quintum* on the frontispiece of *Smith's History*, editions of 1624 and 1632, is an error of the engraver, although it is correct as an adjective qualifying regnum. The editor of the *Survey* subjoins the following note:

"The Company of Merchants called Merchants of Virginia, Bermuda or Summer Islands (for I heare) all these additions are given them. I know not the time of their incorporating, neither by whom their armes supporters and crest were granted."

On the title page of the *Revised Statutes of Virginia* for 1733, 1752, and 1759, the coat appears with the motto, *En dat Virginia quartam*, the adjective agreeing with *coronam* understood. After the union of England and Scotland, in 1707, *quintam* was probably changed to *quartam*.

out of the comon cash into the Colledge mony w^{ch} was ratified and allowed of by the Court.

Quarter Court.

“ At a great and generall Quarter Court holden for Virginia on Wednesday the 17th of November, 1619.

List of Counsellors.

“ Before the reading of the Co^{ts} there was presented by Mr. Tre^r a list of all the Counsellors names of Virginia, being of Earles, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen and citizens about 100 in all, wth this caution that if any heard themselves named, and had not taken their oaths, they were to repair to the Lo. Chancellor or the Lo. Chamberlaine to be sworne.

“ The Courtes being read Mr. Treasurer putt the Court in remembrance of his former proposicons propounded in the Co^{rt} iij Die Nouembris hauing before that propounded them to the Counsell and lastly to the Preparatiue Court, and desires to haue the iudgment of this Great and Generall Court concerning them: When, upon the request of some noble men, he related them againe to the Co^{rt} in effect as followeth.

Propositions of Sir Edwin Sandys.¹

“ Therefore his first Proposition was, that the Company would be pleased that those Tenants for the Publique might be encreased this next Spring to the number of 300, viz^t one hundred for the Gouvernor's Land, 100 for the

¹ He gave an extended review of past errors, and the condition of the colony, before stating his propositions.

Companies, and 100 for the Colledge Land: w^{ch} (if he be truly informed by those who best should know it) being rightly imployed will not yield lesse in value than three thousand pounds yearely reuennue for these publique uses. And because care both hath beene and shall be taken that diuers stayed persons and of good condicons haue been and shall be sent amongst them.

One hundred Children proposed to be sent.

“His second Proposition was that for their ease and comodiousnes there be 100 young persons sent to be their Apprentices, in the charge whereof he hoped this Hono^{ble} Citty would pertake with the Company as they formerly had done.

Maids for Wives.

“And because he understood that the people thither transported though seated there in their persons for some foure yeares are not settled in their mindes to make it their place of rest and continuance; but hauing gotten some wealth there to returne agayne to England.

“For the remedying of that mischiefe and of establishing a perpetuities of the Plantation, he aduised and made it his Third Proposition to send them ouer One hundred young Maides to become wives; that wives, children and familie might make them lesse mouable and settle them, together with their Posteritie in that Soile.¹

¹ On Nov. 3d, at a Preparatory Court “He wished that a fitt hundred might be sent of women, maids young and uncorrupt to make wives to the Inhabitants.”

Mode of Transportation.

“His next Proposition was for the manner of transporting those persons thus to make up ffive hundred for the Publique Land, wherein he aduised that they should not as heretofore giue shipping for this purpose, whereas every shipp at his returne in bare freighte and wages emptied the Cash of 800 and sometimes 1000^l but that they should as they had allreadie done this present yeare take the opportunitie of the Ships trading to Newfoundland, and so to transport them at six pounds a person without after reckonings.

Cattle to be provided.

“A fifte propoosition for the sending of 20 Heifers upon 100 of those Tenants, Therefore in the whole, w^{ch} he hoped might be done taking the opportunity of shipping in the westernne parts at Ten pounds a head 600^l in the whole.

Annual Estimates.

“Lastly touching the charges he related particularly as formerly he had done, diuers great encouragements of supply to come in; he estimated the whole charge at foure thousand pounds to be done sparingly, and bountifully at 5000^l; He promised not to leaue the Company one penny in debt for any thing in his yeare to be performed: And moreouer that he would discharge 3000^l of former debts and reckoninge according to the Stock left in the Lottaries at his coming to this place: This done he hoped the Publique would agayne be well restored, and foundacon laid for a future great State, The Aduenturers and Planters

well comforted and encouraged, All matter of scandall and reproach remoued, and so he would comend the Accon to the blessing of God.

"These Proposicons after some pause, receauing noe opposicon were put to the question, and receaued the generall approbacon of the Court.

"Allso he acquainted that in settinge forward y^t of his proposicounes now confirmed he had to thatt purpose been with the Lord Maior, who found him as willinge to pleasure the Company as he desyred w^{ch} all desyred to haue their mynde in writinge that the Court of Aldermen and the Common Councill may the better understand them, w^{ch} beinge now redly drawne was read and allowed of the copy of w^{ch} ensueth.

Homeless Boys and Girls of London.

"To the Ri. Honorable S^r Wm. Cockaine,¹ knt Lord Maior of the Cittie of London, and the Right Worp^s y^e Aldermen, his Brethren, and the Woths the Common Counsell of the said Citty :

"The Threr, Counsell and Company of Virginia, assembled in their great and generall courte the 17th of November,

¹ William Cockaine was a distinguished merchant; sheriff in 1609; chief of the new company of merchant adventurers, which gave King James a great banquet on June 22, 1609, at his house and there knighted. He died in 1626, and the distinguished poet and divine, John Donne, preached his funeral sermom.

The following letter of Sir Edwin Sandys on January 28, 1620, to one of the King's secretaries, Sir Robert Naunton, shows that the children were not always willing to embark :

"The city of London have appointed one hundred children from the superfluous multitude to be transported to Virginia, there to be bound

1619, haue taken into consideracon the continuall great forwardness of this honorable Cytty in advancing the plantacon of Virginia, and pticularly in furnishinge out one hundred children this last yeare, which, by the goodnes of God, ther safely arriued (save such as dyed in the waie) and are well pleased, we doubt not, for this benefit, for which, your bountiful assistance, we, in the name of the wholl plantacon, do yield unto you due deserved thanks.

“And forasmuch as wee haue now resolved to send this next Springe very large supplies for the strength and encreasinge of the colony, styled by the name of the London Collony, and find that the sendinge of these children to be apprentised hath been very grateful to the people, Wee pray yo^r Lo^p and the rest, in pursuite of your former so precious Accons, to renew the like fauours, and furnish us again with one hundred more for the next Springe.

“Our desire is that we may have them of 12 yeares old & upward, with allowance of Three pound a peec for their transportacon, and forty shillings a pees for their apparell, as was formerly granted. They shall be apprentizes; the boys till they come to 21 years of age; the girles till like age, or till they be marryed, and afterward they shall be placed as Tennants upon the publique lands, with best

apprentices upon very beneficial conditions. They have also granted £500 for their passage and outfit. Some of the ill-disposed children, who, under severe masters in Virginia, may be brought to goodness, and of whom the city is specially desirous to be disburdened, declare their unwillingness to go. The city wanting authority to deliver, and the Virginia Company to transport these children against their will, desire higher authority to get over the difficulty.” *Cal. State Papers, Colonial Series.*

condicions, where they shall have houses with stocke of corne and cattle to begin with, and afterward the moyty of all increase and profit whatsoever.

“And so we leaue this mocon to your honorable and grave consideraçon.

Interview with Secretary Calvert.

“After this hee signified that according to the desire of the Last Courte hee had been with Mr. Secretary Caluert and deliuered the Companies answere touchinge the Transporting of men prest by his Ma'ty w'ch gaue nott full sattisfaccon for that the King's desyre admitted no delaies, but forthwith to haue 50 of the 100 shipt away wth all speed, Notwithstanding the many inconueniencies w'ch Mr. Threr alleadged would thereby accrew unto the Company that they could not goe in lesse than fouer Shippes, for feare they beinge many together may drawe more unto them and so muteny and carry away the Ships w'ch would stand the Company in fowre thousand pounds, and they not suddenly to be gotten at this time of the yeare, but all not * * * hee tolde them what a pinch he was putt unto, and therefore desyred their Counsell and Advise.

Company to maintain Convicts till shipped.

“Whereuppon diuers waies being thought on and considered, the Court could finde noe fitter nor more satisfactory answere then this; That the Company would be att the charge to mayntayne them till ther may be shipping provided, if soe be they were commanded to doe itt. And therefore haue apoynted a Comittee of Select Merchants to imploy their wholl indeauours for the compassinge of shippinge wth all speed possible, Namely Mr. Deputy Ferrar,

Mr. Keightley Mr. Wiseman Mr. Cranmore, Mr. Bull, Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Mellinge and to that end Mr. Threr was content the Eight hundred pounds Aduentured by the generall Stocke in the Magazine should remaine there to be employed to these uses from time to time, whereunto if they pleased there could be two hundred pounds more added outt of the cash in his Custody w^{ch} Thousand pounds to be only for the satisfyinge of his Mat's desyres from tyme to tyme.

Some of the Dissolute to be sent to Somer's Islands.

"And whereas the Company of the Somer Ilands doth allwaies reporte of the gracious fauour his Ma^{ty} extendeth to Virginia, that therefore the next Quarter Courte of the said Islands, the Company thereof be intreated to joyne for the Transporte of some of them to be Seruants uppon their Land; my Lord of Warwick, S^r Edwin Sandys, Mr. John Ferrar and others intending to take some of them to that purpose, for prosecutinge of w^{ch} itt being putt to y^e question was generally agreed of intreatinge Mr. Threr that to this effect hee would in writinge drawe the answere and deliuer itt to Mr. Secretary Caluert to informe his Ma^{ty}.

An old Planter killed in a Quarrel.

"As also that such things as belonged to Cap. Stallenge¹ slayne ther by Wm. Epps be reserued for the use and benefitt of his widdowe.

¹ Stallenge had returned from a fishing voyage to New England. He was "slaine in a priuate quarrell." Smith, in *New England Trialls*, London, 1622, says his name was Edward Rowcroft. In another work, published by Council of New England, he is called Rocraft.

Captain Newport's Son desires some Land selected.

"Whereas the Company hath formerly graunted to Captain Newporte a bill of Aduenture of fower hundred pounds, and his sonne¹ now desyringe order from this Courte for the layinge out of some part of the same: Mr. Treasurer was entreated and authorized by this generall Assembly for to write to S^r George Yeardly and the Counsell of State for the effecting hereof.

The Transportation of Vagabonds.

"An extraordinary Courte held the xxijth of Nouember 1619.

"Mr. Treasurer signified that this extraordinary Courte was to acquaynte them that according to the intent of the last great Courte hee had drawne the letter to his Ma^{ty}, in the name of the Trer, Counsell and Company and had deliuered itt to Mr. Secretary Caluert together with a coppie thereof, butt itt beinge thought that I^re would not serue his Ma^{ty} hee was to propound this and craue theire further aduise, that if one hundred pounds w^{ch} should haue beene for mayntenance of those men might be giuen extraordinary, in grosse besides the ordinary allowance of Six pounds the man to any that may be found to transport them with all expedicon. The Knight Marshall hauinge promised S^r John Dañers that if they may be sent presentlie hee will furnish them wth such p^{sons} of what quallty and condicon they desire. Unto w^{ch} was objected that if some were found to undertake this yet itt

¹ John Newport the only son and heir. It is possible that Newport News was the tract selected.

Newport's time

might might be this month the ship could be dispeeded and they during such time must be mayntayned att the Companies charge; wch was answered itt could not be helped, his Ma^{ties} Command must be fulfilled, therefore being putt to the question was generally allowed of.

Gorges objects to fishing in North Colony.

Dec. 1. "The last great generall Courte being read Mr. Threr acquainted them that Mr. John Delbridge purposing to settle a pticuler Colony in Virginia desyring of the Company that for the defrayinge somewhat of his charges, that hee might bee admitted to fish at Cape Codd wch request was opposed by S^r Ferdinando Gorge aleaginge that hee alwaies fauored Mr. Delbridge, but in this hee thought himselfe something touched that he should sue to this Company, and not rather to him as prople belonging to the North Colony to giue libertie for the fishing in that place, it being within theire latitude which was answered by Mr. Thr'er that the Comp^y of the S^o and North Plantation are the one free of the other, And that the l^res patent is that each may fish within the other the Sea being free for both, w'ch if the N^o Colony abridge them of this, they would take away theire means and encouragement of sendinge of men.

"Unto which S^r Ferdinando Georges replyed that if hee mistake not himselfe both the Companies were lymitted by y^e Pattent unto w'ch hee would submitt himselfe, for the decydinge whereof itt is referred unto the Counsell who are of both Companies to examine the L^res Pattents to morrow afternoone att my Lord of Southampton's and accordingly to determine the dispute.

some might repaire thither att 8 of the Clock to meet the knt marshall about that buisines : Whereuppon the Courte haue desyred Mr. Dr. Wynstone, Mr. Canninge, Mr. Cranmore, and Mr. Thomas Mellinge to be there att that time.

Quarter Court. :

“ Att a greate and Generall Quarter Courte holden for Virginia att S^r Edwin Sandys house neer Aldersgate the second of February, 1619.

“ The Treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys of Graunts of Land hee acquainted them of fower seuerall paire of Indentures lying all ingrossed before them granted unto Mr. Robert Heath Recorder of London and his Associates, the second to Doctor Bohune James Swifte and their Associates for Transportation of 300 persons; the Third to William Tracy esquire and his associates for Transportation of 500 persons and the

Grant to John Peirce and Associates.

Fourth to John Peeirce and his associates their heires and assignes, which being all fowre now red and examined and fyndinge them agree with the draughts perused and allowed by the Auditors were all of them allowed and sealed in view of the Courte with a Totall Approbacon.

February 2, 1619 (old style) : “ A Ire from an unknowne person was read, directed to Mr. Treasurer, promising five hundred pounds for the educatinge and bringinge up Infidells’ children in Christyanitie, which Mr. Treasurer, not willinge to meddle therewith alone, desired the court to apoynt a select comittee for the manadginge and imployinge of itt to which purpose : they made choyce of : Lord

Pagett, Sr Tho. Wroth, Mr. Jo. Wroth, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Tho. Gibbs, Dr. Winstone, Mr. Bamfourde, and Mr. Keightley.

The Coppy of wch Letter ensueth.

“S^r: Yo^r Charitable endeauors for Virginia hath made you a ffather, me a fauourer of those good works wch, although heretofore hath com neer to their birth, yett for want of strength could neuer be deliuered, (envy & diuision dashinge these younglings even in the wombe,) until your helpfull hand wth other fauorable psonages, gaue them both birth and beinge for the better cherishinge of wch good and pious worke, seeinge many casting guifts in the Treasury, I am encouraged to tender my poore mite; and although I cannott with the Princes of Issaker bringe gould and silver coveringe, yet offer here what I cann, some goats’ hayre, necessary stuffe for the Lord’s Tabernacle, protesting heer in my sinceritie, wthout Papisticall merritt or Pharasaicall applause, wishing from my hart as much unities in yo^r honorable undertakinge as ther is sinceritie in my designes, to the furtherance of wch good worke, the converting of Infidles to the fayth of Christe, I pmised by my good friends 500 li for the mayntenance of a conveyent number of younge Indians taken att the age of Seauen years, or younger, and instructed in the readinge and understandinge the principalls of Xrian Religion unto the age of 12 years, and then as occasion serueth, to be trayned and brought upp in some lawfull trade with all humanitie and gentleness untill the age of one and Twenty years, and then to enioy like liberties and pryviledges with our natieue English in that place.

“And for the better pformance thereof you shall receaue

50ⁿ more, which shall be deliuered into the hands of two religious psons with certitude of payment, who shall once every quarter examine and certify to the Treasurer here, in England, the due operacon of these promises, together with the names of those children thus taken, there foster-fathers and overseers, not doubtinge but you are all assured that guiftes deuoted to God's service cannott be diuerted to pryuate and secular advantages without sacriledge. If yo^r grauer iudgments can deuise a more charitable course for such younge children, I beseech you informe my friend, with your securitie for true pformance, and my beneuolence shal be allwaies redy to be deliuered accordingly.

"The greatest Courtesie I expect or craue is to conceale my frend's name, lest importunytie urge him to betray that trust of secresie wch he hath faythfully promised, hee hath moved my harte to this good woorke. Dyrect yo^r charitable endeauors herein whylst I rest, ab famo,

"DUST AND ASHES.

"Sir Edwin Sandys,

"*The faithful Treasurer for Virginia.*¹

Great Crop in Virginia.

Feb. 16. "Mr. Treasurer acquainted the Courte that hee had receaued Letters from Virginia importinge the wellfare of the Plantacon although they haue been much distempered by reason of an intemperate heate, not onely

¹ On February 16 the proposition to give the £500 to John Peirce and associates for educating Indian children was rejected, and it was proposed that the several hundreds should take a few. On the 22d the proprietors of Smith's Hundred stated that they would give £100 to be released from the training of any Indian children.

hapninge unto them but chiefly amongst the Indians requesting that the Company would send them some Phisitions and apothycaries of w^{ch} they stand much need off: relating allso to y^e great Comforte of the Comp^y and incouragment of those wch shall send, y^t plenty of Corne that God this yeare hath blest them with, the like neuer happened since the English was there planted hauing had two haruests, the first being taken, the winde pduced a second, and the ground beinge so extraordinary fiat & good y^t sowinge Indian Corne uppon that stuble they had likewise a great cropp thereof.

Capt. Spillman degraded.

“Signifyinge allso that one Capt. Spillman who thought to depraue the Gouvernor of his Authoritie by his instigation to Opochankino, of a great man y^t should com and put him out of his place. The said Gouvernor and Councill of State haue proceeded in due tryall of him, butt beinge mercifull in sparinge his life haue degraded him from his Captship and made him a seruant of the Collony for seauen yeares in qualltye of an Interpreter.¹

Ships Commissioned.

“Three Comissions being presented to the Courte was allowed to be sealed one to William Shawe M^r of the London Marchant, the other to Capt. Jones M^r of the Faulcon, and the third to Mr. Edmonds M^r of the Tryall to set saile with the first fayre winde for Virginia.

¹ On August 4, 1619, Robert Poole testified to House of Burgesses as to Spillman's conversation with Opochankino, and on that day he was degraded. See Journal of Assembly in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d Series, vol. III.

A Bag of Gold.

February 22. "A Box standinge uppon the Table with this direccoon, '*To Sir Edwin Sandis, the faithfull Treasurer for Virginia,*' he acquainted them that itt was brought unto him by a man of good fashion, who would nether tell him his name nor from whence hee came; butt by the subscrip̄con being the same with Letter, he coniectured that it might be the 550 li promised them.

"And it beinge agreed that the Box should be opened, ther was a bage of new golde containing the said sum of CCCCL^{li}.

"Whereuppon Docter Winstone reportinge that the Committee held requisite for the mannaging thereof, and that itt should be wholly in y^e charge of Smith's Hundred. Itt was desyred by some that the resolūcon should be p̄sented in writinge at the next Courte, wch, in regard of the Ash-Wednesdays sermon, was agreed to be uppon Thursday after.

Balloting Box.

"Hee also signified unto them of the Ballating-boxe standinge uppon the table, how itt was intended att first another way as might appear by the armes upon it; but now Mr. Holloway had given itt freely to this company, that therefore, to gratifie him, they would entertaine him into their Societie by giving him a single share of land in Virginia, wch being put to the question was ratified unto him; whereuppon Mr. Deputy was entreated to provide a Case for the better preseruinge of itt.

Dispute of North and South Colony.

March 15. "Mr. Threr signyfiyd that the N^o Collony intendinge to re-plant themselues in Virginia, had peticoned to the Kinge and to the Lords for y^e obteyninge a new pattent, wch the Lords referred unto the Lord Duke & the Lord of Arundell. And the Lord Arundell deliuered itt to him for to call the Counsell, understanding of some differences about fishing betwixt them, and that if they could not determine of it, that then to returne their opinions to their Lo^{ps}, wheruppon, accordinglie hauinge mett, and, as formerly, disputed the buisines, they could not conclude thereof, but dissented the one from the other, that therefore, accordinge to his Lo^{ps} comand, the Court would please to nominate some to give intelligence how the buisines betwixt them doth depend, which the Courte, pceiuing none to understand the cause so well as himselfe, most earnestly besought him to take the paines, which hee being very loth and unwillinge, by reason of the exceeding multitude of the Company's buisines depending uppon him, desyred to be excused; but not prevaylinge, he was so earnestly solicited thereunto, hee could not gainesay itt, wheruppon they associated unto him Sir John Dauers, Mr. Harbert, and Mr. Keightley to repaire thither to-morrow morninge att 8 of the clocke.

Acts of First Colonial Legislative Assembly.

"The Actes of y^e generall assembly in Virginia beinge yett to read together with a l're wch Mr. Yeardley¹ desyred may be read for the cleeringe of his Brother S^r

¹ Ralph Yeardley, a London apothecary.

George Yeardley, because it was held inconvenient to spend an ordinary Courte herewith itt was agreed that Monday next in the afternoone be apoynted for the purpose.

News from Virginia. Great Sickness.

March 15. "The Courte beinge sett Mr. Threr made knowne y^t the George beinge returned from Virginia had brought l^r'es certifyinge allso of the greate mortalltye wch hath been in Virginia, about 300 of y^e Inhabitants hauinge dyed this last yeare and that S^r George Yeardley comitted the same error as formerly, that he dyrecteth all his letters to the Counsell and not any to the Company: But for y^e people sent in the Bona Noua they are aryued in health are all liuinge & prosper well applyinge themselves with the rest according to direcon to the buildinge of the houses, tillinge of the ground, plantinge Silkgrass: Butt forasmuch as the Courte was wholly ignorant of the State of the Collony wch by readinge of those letters now come they might be enformed of, therefore itt was earnestly moued by diuers now present that they might be published to the Courte but sundry of the Counsell thinking itt inconuenient till a full nomber thereof haue first heard itt, wch was accounted Seauen together, itt was therefore deferred till the next Courte and in the intryme it was agreed that the Counsell at two of the clocke should be desyred to meet upon Fryday afternoon at two of the clocke at Mr. Threr's house, and that Capt. Smith and Capt. Maddison there attend to make their greiuances wch they pretend done unto them by S^r George Yeardley.

"A meetinge of Comittees held at S^r Thomas Smiths by order from the Virginia Courte 18th March 1619 [O. S.]

Dispute of South and North Colony about Fishing.

March 18. "Concerning the difference of fishing betweene the South and N^o Collony itt pleased Mr. Threr to signifie that although hee was very unwilling by reason of the multitude of other buisinesses yett hee and the Comittee had intended the Lo. Duke, and the Lo: of Arundle and there was for the other side S^r Ferd: Gorge and others where disputinge the matter before their Lo^{ps} they pleased neither to allow nor disallowe entirely the one parte or the other, but sett doone & order as seemed fittest to their Lo^{ps} for the obteyning a copy whereof they now appoynted the Secretary to repare to S^r Clement Edmonds and desire itt of him in the name of the Comp^y & appoynted him to giue his clarke a fee.

Navigation Proposed.

"Hee also signified that S^r George Yeardley desyreth of them, for the good of the Colony, that a naviga^{co}n might be sett upp wch would produce good benefit to the planta^{co}n, and, to that end, nomynated unto them one Marmaduke Rayner,¹ who is willinge to goe, if they please to give him his passage, wch man being also well knowne to Sir Thomas Roe, he gave very good commenda^{co}ns of him, whereuppon it was agreed, uppon the terms men^{co}ned, he should be sent.

Acts of Virginia Assembly of 1619.

April 8, 1620. "Allso hee signified that hauinge p^rused the Acts of the generall Assembly, he found them in their greatest pt to be very well and iudicially carried & pformed

¹ He became a noted colonial sea captain. In the later records of North Carolina this name of Marmaduke Reyner is found. Are the Reyners of modern days descendants of the old captain?

Rayner.

butt because they are to be ratified by a great and generall Courte, therefore he hath writ^o unto them that till then they cannott be confirmed; in the meane time hee moued that a select Committee of choyce men might be appoynted to drawe them into head and to ripen the buisines, that itt might be in a readinesse against the said Courte.

Order relative to South and North Colony.

May 11. "The Order made by the Lord Duke and y^e Lord Arundell uppō referrence unto them in y^e behalfe of the S^o and N^o Collonies a copy thereof beinge perused itt gaue not satisfaccon to the one Collony or the other, wheruppō forasmuch as the N^o Collony hath peticoned to the Kinge for obtayninge a new Pattent, and therein to declare the one Collony to haue priuiledges wherein the other this Comp^a findinge themselues greiued therby beinge a meanes to debarr them from the ymunities his Ma^{ty} hath freely and graciously graunted them for matter of fishinge, itt is agreed y^t a peticon likewise be exhibited to his Ma^{ty} from this Company for the maintenance thereof and that some of L^{ds} of y^e Pryvie Counsell wch one of this Societie be entreated to deliuer itt from them for pformance of w^{ch} the Courte hath requested Mr. Threr who hath assented to see it effected.

Intolerable Fees of John Pory.

May 15. "The Comittee appoynted for to consider of certaine Lands and Ten^{ts} wch the Court thought fitt to be graunted unto Mr. John Porey and thereby to annihilate the intollerable fees granted him by the Gouvernor and Counsell of Estate there and sent thither for ratificacon reported now that hauinge taken the same into consideracon they hould it requisite that for the present hee haue

500 acres of Land allotted for him and his Successors and 20 men to be planted thereupon to be transported att the Companies charges, Ten to be sent this yeare, and 10 next yeare wch hereafter may be enlarged as the Company shall see cause, wch bein to the approbacon of the Court was allowed, and confirmed by generall consent.

General Quarter Court.

May 17. "Upon the request of some of the generally-tie itt was ordered that frome henceforth before the Company proceed to the choyce of their officers the chapter or title of eleccōn shall allwaies be red before.

"Post Prandiū.

"In the beginning of this Afternoone Courte Mr. Threr acquainted them of one S^r Francis Nethersole who is shortly to goe into Bohemia, and because hee was not of the Comp^a-hee desyed libertie for him to sett amongst them this day to understand their proceedings wch hee doubted not hee would reporte of to the best, wch the Courte willinglie assented to.

Message from King relative to Election.

"Imediately after and before they proceeded in any buisiness one Mr. Kerkham agent sent from the King presented himselfe to the boord and signified to the Courte that his Ma^{ty} understanding of the eleccōn of their Treasurer wch they intended this day to make choyce of, out of an especial care and respect hee hath to that plantation hath required him to nominate unto them Fower outt of wch his pleasure is the Company should make choyce of one to be their Treasurer, That was Sir Thomas Smith, Sir

Thomas Roe, Mr. Alderman Johnson, and Mr. Maurice Abbott and noe other.

Deputies for the Colony.

Then proceedinge to the Accoustomable manner the Courts were red, after which Mr. Threr signified to the Courte the Companies former resolucon for entertayment of 2 new Officers by the name of 2 Deputies to gouerne 2 pts of the publique land in Virginia, one was Mr. George Thorpe well knowne to the Company for his sufficiencie who is allredie gone and haue departed him to gouerne the Colledge Land, wth graunt of 300 Acres perpetually belonginge to that place, and 10 Tenents to be placed up the Land.

Thomas Nuce, Deputy in charge of Company's Land.

The other of the same worth now present called Mr. Thomas Nuce¹ touchinge whome it was agreed that he should take charge of the Companies Land and Tenents in Virginia whatsoever and for his entertaymt haue ordered that hee and such as shall succeed him shall in that place haue 1200 acres of Land sett out belonging to that office 600 at Kiquotan now called Elizabeth Cittie, 400 acres at Charles Cittie, 100 att Henrico, 100 att James Cittie.

¹ Thomas Nuce settled at Elizabeth City, but soon died. On April 12, 1621, Sir William Nuce, who had been a planter in Ireland, offered to transport before midsummer of 1625, 2,000 persons to Virginia. The Company gave him the title of Marshall, but he also only lived a few days after his arrival.

Statement of Sir Edwin Sandys in retiring from the Treasurership.

The buisiness being thus ordered Mr. Threr according to the standing Lawe of the Company before the giueinge upp of his place proceeded to declare unto this Courte the State of the Colony together with the supplies in this yeare, and the present State of the Treasury, how both hee found itt and now should leaue itt.

Condition of the Colony in Spring of 1618.

First therefore he declared that it appeared by a lre written from the generall Colony and directed to this Company that at the latter arrivall of the ship called the George in Virginia wch was in April 1618 the number of men, women and children was about 400, amongst wch 200 was the most that were able to sett land to husbandry, and butt one plough was goinge in all the country wch was the fruite of full 12 years labour, and aboue one hundred thousand marks expended, disbursed out of the publique Treasurie ouer and aboue the some of some 8 and 9000^{li} debt into wch the Company was brought and besides the the great expenses of pticularr aduenturers. The Colony being thus weake and the Treasury utterly exhaust Itt pleased diuers Lords, Knights, gentlemen and citizens (griued to see this great Action fall to nothings) to take the matter a new in hand and at their priuate charges (ioyninge themselves into Societies) whereof the first of any moment now called Southampton Hundred hath had 320 persons sent unto itt, the next called Martin's Hundred aboue 200 psons and some other in like sorte so that at the cominge away of Captaine Argall at Easter 1619 there were personns in the Colony neere 1000.

Argall's Malfesance.

"Butt as the pryuate plantacon began thus to encrease so contrarywise the state of the publique for the setting up whereof about 75000^l had been spent grew into utter consumption. For whereas the Deputy Gouvernor att his arriual to that place wch was in or aboute May 1617 hath left and deliuered to him by his predisessor a porcon of publique Land called the Companies Garden which yeilded to them in one yeare about 300^l.profit. Seruants 54 imployed in the same Garden, and in Salt works sett upp for the service of the Collony, Tenants 81, yeilded a yearly rent of corne & seruises, wch rent corne together with the Tribute corne from the Barbarians amounted to aboue 1200 of our bushells by the yeare, Kine 80, Goats 88.

"About two yeares after viz, Easter 1619 att the cominge away of the said Deputy Gouvernor his wholl State of the publique was gone and consumed, ther beinge not lefte att that time to the Company either the land aforesaid or any Tennant, Seruant, Rent or Trybute corne, cowe or saltworke and but six Goates onely, without one penny yeilde to the Company for their so great losse, in way of Accompt or restitucon to this very day.

Diminution of Commodities.

"This is allso further to be knowne that whereas about 2 or 3 yeares before there had been sent home to the Company within compass of 14 monneths, eleuen seuerall comodities, they were by this time reduced to two namely Tobacco and Sassafrass, and the planting & prouiding of Corne so utterly neglected that the dearth grew excessiue had not the same been spedilie releiued from home with 200 quarters of meale sent hither att one time by the

Magazine, and this was the State of the Colony in Virginia in Easter Terme 1619, att wch time hee was chosen to their seruice in this place.

Shipping of the Year 1619.

“ A note of the Shippinge, Men, and Prouisions sent to Virginia by the Treasurer and y^e Company Ann^o 1619.

Shippes. The Bona Noua of	300 Tunn sent in August	1619 wth 120 psons.
The Dutie of	70 Tunn sent in January	1619 wth 051 psons.
The Jonathan of	350 Tunn sent in february	1619 wth 200 psons.
The Tryall of	200 Tunn sent in february	1619 wth 040 psons
& 60 kine.		
The faulcon of	150 Tunn sent in february	1619 wth 096 psons
& 52 kine, 4 mares.		
The Marchant of London	300 Tunn sent in March	1619 wth 200 psons.
The Swan of Barnstable	100 Tunn sent in March	1619 wth 071 psons.
The Bona Venture of	240 Tunn sent in April	1620 wth 153 psons.

Besides these sett out by the Treasurer and Company, there hath been sett out by particular Aduenturers for pryuate plantacons.

The Garland of 250 Tunn sent in June 1619 wth 45 personns. who are yet detaineyd in the Summer Ilands.

A ship of Bristole of 80 Tunn sent in Septembr 1619 wth 45 personns.

There are also two ships in providinge, to be shortlie gone for aboute

300 personns more to be sent by pryuate Aduenturers to Virginia 300 personns.

	Sume of the Persons	1261
Whereof in eight ships sett out by the Threr and Company		871

Gifts of the Benevolent.

“ Ther haue been giuen to y^e Colony this yeare by Deuoute Persons these giftes ensuinge.

“ *Gifts.* Two Persons unknowne have giuen faire Plate & other rich Ornam^{ts} for two Communion Tables, whereof one for the Colledge, and the other for the Church of Mrs. Mary Robinsons foundinge, who in the fformer yeare by her will gaue two hundred pounds towards the foundinge a Church in Virginia.

“Another unknowne pson (together wth a goodly letter) hath lately sent to the Threr 550^{li} in gold for the bringinge upp of Children of the Infidles, first in y^e knowledge of God & true religion & next in fitt trades whereby honestly to liue.

“Mr. Nicholas Ferrar¹ deceased hath by his will giuen 300^{li} for the Colledge in Virginia to be paid when ther shel be tenn of the Infidles Children placed in itt, and in the meane time fower and Twentie pound by year, to be distributed unto three discreet and godlie men in the Colony w^{ch} shall honestly bringe upp three of the Infidles Children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by.

“An Unknowne Person sent to the Threr the sume of Tenn pound for aduancing the plāntaçon.

Patents granted.

“Ther have been Pattents graunted this yeare for Particular Plantacons.

- 1 To Mr. Wincopp
- 2 To Mr. Heath Recorder of London
- 3 To Doctor Bohunn
- 4 To Mr. Delbridge
- 5 To Mr. Tracie
- 6 To Mr. Peirce
- 7 To Mr. Poyntz
- 8 To Mr. Barkley
- 9 To Southampton Hundred
- 10 To Captain Bargaue
- 11 To Captaine Warde

Who haue undertaken to Transporte to Virginia great multitude of people wth store of Cattle.

¹ Nicholas Ferrar, Sr., was a prosperous merchant, and in his capacious mansion, after April, 1619, the Company usually met. His wife's maiden name was Mary Wodenoth, and was probably a relative of Arthur Wode-

Treasurer's Accounts.

"After wch writing being read Mr. Therer proceded to declare unto the Courte the state of his Accompt as well for the Companies generall cash as for the cash of the Colledge and first hee sayeth hee hath receaved no warrant for disbursement of their monny but such as he knew to be iust and necessarie, that in the booke of Accompt wch hee exhibited to the Courte Auditors and approued by 5 of the 7 Auditors and the other two beinge away hee hath sett downe distinctly the pticular reasons as well of his seuerall receipts as of his seuerall disbursmts the briefe whereof ensueth.

Receip^{ts} for the generall Cash.

	£	s.	d.
Remayninge of the last yeare	0111,	12,	02
Old debts & duties recouered	1442,	04,	01
Bills of Aduenture	0037,	10,	00
Lottery Monny	7000,	00,	00
For passengers & freight, wth some cattle sould	0809,	08,	08
Monney lent repayde	20,	00,	00
Of the Citty for a hundred children sent tu Virginia	400,	00,	00
Monny giuen	0010,	00,	00
Sumis	9830,	14,	11

noth, a member of the Company, who prepared a brief narrative of the corporation from its organization to its dissolution, which after his death was published, in 1651, at London. Deputies John and N. Ferrar were sons, and William, Councillor in Virginia.

Disbursements out of the Generall Cash.

	£	s.	d.
Old debts and duties discharged	3707,	17,	02
Setting out Ship men and prouisions	6598,	00,	06
Officers wages	0112,	10,	00
Petty charges layd out by the Officers	0013,	06,	11
	<hr/>		
Sumis	10431,	14,	07

College.

Receipts for y ^e Colledge	2043	02	11½
Disbursments for the Colledge	1477	15	05

Thanks to the Company.

“Lastly hee concluded with his respectiue thanks, first to the Comp^a in generall for their Loue in chosinge him, and then pticularly to the Lords for their so frequent presence to the graceinge of the Courte, and great assistance in the buisnes; To the Officers for their faythfull ioyninge with him in the supportinge of his burthen, and againe to the Courte in generall for their patience in bearinge with his unwilling erro^rs and other naturall infirmities, so deliuering upp his Office togeather with the Sealls hee desyred the Courte to p^{ro}ceed in Eleccion of there Threr accordinge to the message Lately receaued from his Ma^{ty} and there-uppon withdrew himselfe out of Courte.

A Pinch, about the Privilege of free Election.

“Uppon wch this great and generall Courte found themselves uppou a deliberate consideracon of the matter at an exceedinge pinch, for if they should not doe as the Kinge

had commanded they might incurre suspicon of defect in poynte of duty from wch they protested they were and would be free, on the other side if they should proceed accordinge to the Lymitts of that message they suffered a great breach into their priuyldege of free Eleccion graunted to them by his Ma^{ty} Letters Pattents, wch they hold fitt rather to lay downe with all dutie and submission att his Ma^{ties} feet then to be depryued of there pryueledge, and theruppon prusinge the said l^res pattents after longe arguinge and debatinge, itt was concluded by generall ereccon of hands, that the eleccion might and should be Adiourned to the next Quarter Courte notwithstanding any order made by the Company to the contrarie.

Annual Election Postponed.

"Wher uppon as itt manyfestly appeared that his Ma^{ty} hadd been much misinformed¹ of the managinge of their buisness this last yeare, Itt was agreed according to the opynion aforesaide that the day of Eleccion should be putt off till the next great generall Courte some six weeks hence

¹ King James declared that "the Virginia Company was a seminary for a seditious Parliament," and he disliked Sandys because he was one of the leaders of the people's party in the House of Commons. The Company were gratified with the promptness with which he had transacted their business, and desired to reelect him. The King, however, refused to listen to the appeals of Southampton and others, and declared Sandys was his "greatest enemy," and that "he could hardly think well of whomsoever was his friend." In a furious passion he concluded by saying, "choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." These facts are stated in a now rare pamphlet which was published in London, 1651, with the title "A short Collection of the most remarkable passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company," a copy of which is in the Library of Congress.

in Midsomer Tearme, and till they understood the Kinges further pleasure, And in the intrym they humbly entreated the Right Honorable y^e Lord of Southampton, Vycount Doncaster, The Lord Cauendish, y^e Lord Sheffield, S^r John Dauers, S^r Nicholas Tufton S^r Laurence Hide, Mr. Xp^r Brooks, Mr. Gibbes, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Keightley and Mr. Cranmer to meet uppon Fryday morninge att Southampton House to determine of an humble answere to his Ma^{ty} message and to deliuer to him a true informacon as well of the former as of this latter years gouernment of the buisnes for Virginia beseechinge allso that his Ma^{ty} would be pleased not to take from them the pryuiledge of their L^{res} Pattents, but that itt might in their choyce to haue free elecon.

Sir Edwin Sandys denies a false Rumor.

May 23, 1620. Extraordinary Court. "Mr. Threr desyred that before they proceded unto other buisnes hee might speake a few words for the cleeringe and iustifyinge himselfe; for whereas itt is tlyuulged that he should incense the Spanish Ambassador¹ against Capt. Argoll, as allso against the Lo^d North and Capt. North his brother he vowed and protested that he neuer did see the Spanish Ambassador butt in the streets, nor neuer sent or receiued any message to or from him, neither l^{re} or any other writings; wheruppon in his behalfe itt was said itt was impossible to be him, itt beinge sett on foote when he was

¹ Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, was in high favor with James. On the 15th of the month the King had issued a proclamation against Cap. Roger North and associates, who had secretly embarked for the Amazon.

in the country, butt that there were so many of these Asp'sions that this is no wonder and that if they had their right they deserued to receaue condigne punishment for rumoringe such falsities.

Brewster vs. Argall.

"This day being appoynted by order of Courte was spent in hearinge the cause between Captaine Argall and Capitaine Brewster¹ touchinge his condempnacon att a Marshalls Court in Virginia.

"The Sentence of the Courte touching Capt. Brewsters condempnation.

[The opinion of the Court is too long for insertion, and only the conclusion follows.]

"All which Prouisoos beinge duly weighed and considered the said Courte in fine proceded to deliuer their resolucon; that the said p'ceedings against the said Captain Edward Brewster were uniust and unlawfull and not warrantable either in matter or forme by the Lawes of this Realme or by any power or authoritie deryued from his Ma^{ty} and that itt did not any way appeare to the said Courte that the said Capt. Brewster either by the deeds or words whereof hee stood charged att the time of the said Tryall by the said Martiall Courte did any waie deserue the seure penaltie of death, and that the manner of said tryall by Martiall Law, and in a Martiall Courte, beinge in time of soe generall peace and no rebellion or mutyney was to be held for unlawfull and of no validitie and conse-

¹ Edward Brewster seems to have remained in London. His name appears among members present at meetings of Company in 1623-24. He and Henry Seile, in 1635, were booksellers near the north door of St. Paul's, and at a later period was Treasurer of the Stationers' Company.

quentlie the said Captaine Brewster was to be held as a Loyall man and not lawfully condempned, the sentence of the said Martiall Court (from wch the said Captaine Brewster hath appealed) notwithstandinge.

The substance of wch opinion and resolucon of the said Court .beinge first seuerally delivered by the said Lords, Knights and others of the said Councell then present, was finally approued and ratefied by the said Generall Courte by a generall ereccon of hands, no one dissintinge xcept Mr. Thomas Wroth.

Irregular Meeting in Sir Thos. Smith's Bedchamber.

June 26. "Itt appeareth att this Preparatiue Courte that a pryuate meetinge of some gents and marchants att S^r Thomas Smiths house in his bed chamber uppon Fryday the 16th day of June 1620 wher there was no sufficient authoritie one Mr. Canninge deliuered a peticon to S^r Thomas Smith conteyninge y^e applauding of his former gouernment and much scandalinge the proceedinge of y^e present, the pretended end of his peticon being onely to obteyne y^e dissolucon of an iniuncon in a pryuate sute graunted Cap^t Bargraues against S^r Thomas Smith, Mr. Alderman Johnson and himselfe with others wch last poynte was only debated proper, two not touched, as diuers present now testifie who were there and disliked itt, and protest it neuer went by hands, nor generall consent, wch occasions this Courte to thinke that, that pryuate buisness of Capt. Bargraues was both taken hold of for some other purpose, the rather for that itt was in this Courte auowed that Canning soone after sayde that the peticon was now with the Kinge and a figg for the piper, wch malicious kinde of proceedinge to aduance craftylie or impayre falslie

mens reputacons this Courte doth utterlie condemne and thinke fitt to be censured in the next Quarter Courte for wch cause Canninge and all that were present at that pryuate meetinge are to be summoned to the next Quarter Courte.

Councillors for Virginia.

"Uppon notice from Sr George Yeardley y^t the Councillors in Virginia must needs be supplied the Court hath now chosen Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Nuse, Mr. Pountis, Mr. Tracy, Mr. David Middleton, and Mr. Bluett to be of the Councill of Estate in Virginia.

Election of Earl of Southampton, Treasurer.

June 28. "A great and generall Quarter Courte held in the afternoone at Mr. Ferrar's house.

"The Earle of Southampton acquainted this Courte that himselfe wth the rest of the Lords and gentlemen requested thereunto by the last Quarter Courte had presented there humble desires¹ unto his Ma^{ty} for the free elleccion of theire Treasurer whereunto his Ma^{ty} had most graciously condiscented signifyinge unto them that it would be pleasinge to him they made choyce of such a one as might at all times and occasions haue free accesse unto his royall psonn. And further declaringe that itt was the mistakeinge of the messenger hauinge not receaued his message imeadiately from his owne royall mouth to exclud them from the libertie of choosinge any butt the fower nominated whome

¹ On the 7th of this month Sandys wrote, from his seat at Northborne in Kent, to Buckingham, that he would cheerfully bestow one year more in the service of the Virginia Company, and implored him to use his influence to "re-patriate the long exiled in his Majesties favour." *Sainsbury State Papers*, p. 24.

his Ma^{ties} intent was indeed to recomend butt not so as to barr the Comp^a from the choyse of any other.

“Wheruppon the whole Courte rendred to his Ma^{tie} all humble thanks and ordered that by writinge itt should be signified unto his Ma^{tie}.

Then Mr. Herbert deliuered unto the Company that whereas by some distraction and dissensions in the Company the buisness much suffered in the reputacon and otherwise they should now thinke uppon some person of such worth and authoritie as might giue full remedie thereunto; wch since it could not be pformed by the late Trer a man of that greate stabillitie and sufficiencie together with his industrie and integritie as of his ranke there could not be found any to passe him, there was now left noe hope except itt might please some of those Honorable Psonages then present to vouchsaffe to accept of the place, who by adicon of Nobillitie might effect that wch others by meere habillytie could not doe.

“Wch mocon beinge exceedinglye approued the whole Courte imeadiately with much ioy and applause nominated the Earle of Southamton¹ with much earnestness beseechinge his Lo^p that for the redeeminge of this Noble Plantacon and Company from the ruines that seeme to hange.
• ouer itt he would vouchsaffe to accept of the place of Threr.

Southampton's Acceptance.

“Wch it pleased him after some small pause in fine to doe in very noble manner out of the worthie loue

¹ The Earl of Southampton, soon after the dissolution of the Company, assumed the command of an English Regiment in the Low Countries. In November, 1624, he and one of his sons died of disease near Bergen-op-zoom. Their bodies were sent to England, and on Innocent's Day interred in Tichfield.

and affeccion that he bare to the Plantacon. And the Courte in testimoniall of their bounden thankfullnesse and of the great honoure and respect they ought him, did resolve to surcease the ballatinge box, and without nomination of any other by ereccion of hands his Lo^p was chosen Trer, and tooke his Oath. Wch done his Lo^p desyred the Comp^a that they would all putt on the same mindes wth wch hee hadd accepted that place.

John Ferrar reelected Deputy.

“For place of Deputie this Courte nominated Mr. Ferrar, Mr. Keightley and Mr. Cranmer, who beinge putt to the Ballatinge Box Mr. Ferrar was chosen by pluralitie of Balles who took his Oth.¹

E. Collingwood elected Secretary.

“Mr. Fotherby the Secretary offered to giue upp his place in the due performance whereof the Company provinge him to haue been some way faulty hee was discharged and Mr. Collingwood recommended by my Lord of Warwick and S^r John Dauers, chosen in his place.

And in regard that in a day of so great ioy none should goe away griued, the Courte condiscended ouer and aboue the 5^{ld} due to Mr. Fotherbie for his wages to bestow uppon him 10^{ld}.

¹ John Ferrar, son of Nicholas, was a merchant, and lived with his mother after she was a widow, and the Company continued to meet at Mrs. Ferrar's house. A daughter of John was christened Virginia, and became an accomplished writer. She was the authoress of a treatise on silk-worms reprinted in the *Force Historical Tracts*, and in 1651 was published “A Mapp of Virginia, discovered to y^e Hills, and its latt: from 35 deg. and $\frac{1}{2}$ neer Florida, to 41 deg. bounds of New England. Domina Virginia Farrar, Collegit. And sold by I. Stephenson at y^e Sunne below Ludgate 1651.” The father died in 1657, and the daughter in 1687.



CHAPTER XI.

EXTRACTS FROM TRANSACTIONS DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF
THE DIRECTORSHIP OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON—JULY 7, 1620,
MAY 2, 1621.

CAPE COD FISHERY.

JULY 7, 1620. “Sir John Dauers and Sr Thomas
Roe are appoynted comittees to drawe a generall
l're to his Ma^{tie} to preserue the fishinge at Cape
Codd free and indifferent to both the Collonies
as was intended in the first Pattent and being drawne to
present the same at the next Courte uppon Wednesday.

JOHN WOOD PROPOSES TO BUILD SHIPS IN VIRGINIA.

July 12. “John Wood in his Peticon desyred that the
Courte would please in regard hee is resolued to inhabite
in Virginia to graunt him 8 shares in Elizabeth River for
8 shares of land formerly graunted unto him because there
is Timber fittinge for his turne, and water sufficient to
launch such ships as shal be there built for the use and
seruice of the Company.

The Courte theruppon hath ordered and agreed to re-
comend the consideracon of the premises unto the Go-
uenor and Counsell of Virginia to deale therein as they shall
thinke fitt.

MR. WOODALL SCANDALIZES THE COMPANY'S LATE BOOK.¹

July 18. "Reporte beinge made unto this Courte that Mr. Woodall had scandalized the booke lately sett out by his Ma^{ties} Councell for Virginia by a most disgracefull Tearme, in callyng itt a lybell, with wch hee being charged sought by a ridiculous interpretacon of that worde accordinge to the sense itt bears in Latin in some sorte to extenuate and excuse.

"Butt for that itt was further allso laide to his charge that hee had impudentlie cast a foule aspercon uppon S^r Edwin Sandys knight, in sayinge hee did butt usurpe the Authoritie of the Courte: The Company were therewith exceedingly moued and theruppon did forthwith order that the examinacon of both his disgracefull scandalls should

¹ The book is printed in the third volume of *Force's Historical Tracts*. The title is

A
D E C L A R A T I O N
of the State of
THE COLONIE AND AFFAIRES
IN VIRGINIA
with
THE NAMES OF THE ADVENTURERS,
AND SUMMES ADVENTURED IN
THAT ACTION.
BY HIS MAJESTIES COUNSELL FOR
VIRGINIA. 23 Junij 1620.

LONDON
Printed by T. S. 1620.

be referred to the censure of the next Quarter Courte. And in the meane time he should remayne suspended from the Courte.

ISLE OF WIGHT PLANTATION.

Nov. 3. "Upon the humble peticon of S^r Richard Worslup, knight Baronett, Nathaniel Basse gent,¹ John Hobson gentleman, Antho. Oleuan, Richard Wiseman, Robert Newland, Robert Gyner and William Wellis, associate and fellow aduenturers with Capt. Christopher Lawne deceased the Courte was pleased to graunt unto them and their heires a confirmacon of their Old Pattent, with all manner of pryviledges therin conteyned, and that the said plantacon shall from henceforth be called the Ile of Wights Plantacon, prouided that the heirs of the said Christopher Lawne be no way preiudiced therby: And in regard of the late Mortalitie of the persons transported heretofore by the said Captaine Lawne the Court hath likewise giuen them till Midsomer 1625 to make up the number of these said psonns menconed in their former Pattents.²

¹ Basse had a plantation known as Basse's Choice. In 1630 he was a member of the Council of Virginia, and in March, 1631-2, he was authorized to go to New England, and offer the inhabitants a settlement on Delaware Bay.

² Lawn's Creek in Isle of Wight county, preserves the name of the first planter. On November 21, 1621, Edward Bennett, a London merchant, obtained a patent and made a settlement here. His associates in the adventure were Robert and Richard Bennett, Thomas Ayres, Thomas and Richard Wiseman. The first settlers were Puritans, and they may have built the Smithfield church still standing. Their first minister was the Rev. Wm. Bennett, who preached for the plantation until 1623. It is probable that to this settlement the Rev. Henry Jacob of London came in 1624, and soon died. The plantation was sometimes called Warrosquoyak, and sometimes Edward Bennett's.

It is called

x ... 1621

known as ...

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH COLONY.

Nov. 4, 1620. “Wheruppon S^r Edwin Sandys did intimate unto the Courte y^t hee was informed that S^r Ferdinando Gorges had peured unto himselfe and others a new Patent (now passed his Ma^{ty} great seale) wherein certaint words were conveyed that did not only contradict a former order of the Llds of the Counsell, which their Lps, after a full hearinge of the allegacons on both sides, and sett down in June last, by wch this company had yielded some of their right to doe them good, and therby promised to fish onely for their necessities and transportation of people ; * . * butt, by this new graunt, the Aduenturers of the Northern Collony had allso utterlie excluded those of the Sotherne from fishinge att all uppon that coaste, without their leaue and lycense first sought and obtayned, which was contrary and manifestly repugnant to that comunitie and freedome wch his Ma^{ty} by the first Patent, as is conceived, hath been pleased to graunt unto either Collony :

“The Courte, therfore, seeinge no reason why they should loose their former right graunted unto them by the first Patent, the Sea allso beinge to all as free and comon as the Ayre, and fyndinge less reason why S^r Ferdinando Gorges should now appropriate and make a monopolie of y^t fishinge, which hath allreadie cost this company 6,000^l : and was the only means left (now the Lotteries were allmost spent and other supply began to faile) to enable them to transport their people and susteyne their plantacon withall : did, wth a generall consent, resolue forthwith to peticon to his Ma^{ty} for a redresse herein, and to pray a further declaracon of his gracious pleasure and intention concerninge that clause of prohibition and restraunte inserted in

the New Pattent, whereby they were defeated of their libertie of fishing. Whereuppon they appointed these comittees to drawe the said peticon, and to make itt, in substance, agreeable to those three poynts Sir Edwin Sandys had deliuered in open Courte. And for that Sir Thomas Roe said that hee was the next day to goe to the court, they desired him to psent the same to his Ma^{ty}.

DANIEL GOOKIN OFFERS TO TRANSPORT CATTLE.

Nov. 13. "Whereas uppon a former treatie had with Mr. Wood in the behalfe of Mr. Gookin¹ for transportacon of Cattle outt of Ireland into Virginia an offer was made unto him after the rate of 10^{ld} a Cowe uppon certificate of their safe Landinge, prouided they were fayre and Lardge Cattle and of our English breed. The said Mr. Wood hath now returned his fynall aunswere that hee cannott entertaine the bargaine under xii^{ld} the Cowe without exceedinge greate losse.

¹ Gookin, a native of Kent, England, had been living at or near Cork, Ireland. On November 22, 1621, he arrived in Virginia, and settled at Newport News. He became one of the most prominent men of the colony.

His son Daniel, in 1642, then about thirty years of age, was President of the County Court of Upper Norfolk, and was a member of the Puritan church there established. In 1644 he went to Massachusetts, and became the friend of Eliot and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He died in March, 1687, and his tombstone is still visible at Cambridge. Chief Justice Sewall, who visited him while dying, entered in his journal the following brief but expressive tribute, "a right good man."

His descendants are numerous, and one, J. Wingate Thornton, an accurate and accomplished historical writer, published a sketch of Gookin.

DONATION OF A MAP AND BOOKS.

Nov. 15. "After the Acts of the former Courte were read a straunger stept in presentinge a Mapp of S^r Walter Rawlighes contayninge a Descripcon of Guiana, and wth the same fower great books as the Guifte of one unto the Company that desyred his name might not be made knowne, whereof one booke was a treatise of St. Augustine of the Citty of God translated into English, the other three greate Volumes wer the works of Mr. Perkins¹ newlie corrected and amended, wch books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia there to remayne in-saftie to the use of the collegiates thereafter, and not suffered at any time to be sent abroad or used in the meane while, For wch so worthy a guifte my Lord of Southampton desyred the p^tie that presented them to returne deserued thanks from himselfe and the rest of the Company to him that had so kindly bestowed them.

¹ William Perkins, D. D., had been a lecturer in Cambridge University, and was a Puritan. Rev. John Robinson, of Leyden, had been one of his pupils, and used his Catechism in Holland. Gov. Leverett and associates, of Massachusetts, in a letter to Robert Boyle, the philosopher, say:

' If Mr. Perkins and those good old Puritans in King Edward the Sixth, and Q. Elizabeth's time did in their principles of religion teach evil doctrine, then may we be rendered such.'

In the *Manuscript Council Book* of Maryland Colony there is an inventory of goods of Claiborne seized at Palmer's Island at the mouth of the Susquehanna, the site of an academy projected by Palmer, an English scholar of wealth, and among the articles mentioned is "One folio volume of Mr. Perkins's works." May this not have been one of the three sent over to Virginia?

CONTRACT FOR CATTLE.

"Thomas Wood beinge now willinge (though he conceiued itt a hard bargaine) to accept of the offer of the former Courte, wch was that for euerie Cowe of our English breed transported by him or his Agents safe and sound to Virginia hee should be paide Eleuen pounds and for euerie Shee Goate three pounds some shillings uppon certificate att his returne from the Gouvernor there; hee moued therefore now that hee might have some assurance under the Companies Seale for the payment of said monny: Wheruppon the Courte ordered that accordinge to his request hee should haue his securitie confirmed under the Seale of the Company for wch they gaue order to Mr. Deputy to see it done.

NORTH AND SOUTH COLONY.

Nov. 13, 1620. "Sr Thomas Roe att the request of the Company hauinge deliuered their petition to his Ma^{tie} made now a reporte of his highness's gracious answeere thereunto, who said that if anything were passed in New England Patent that might be preiudiciall to them of the Southerne Collony, it was surreptitiously donn, and without his knowledge, and that he had bin abused therby by those that pretended otherwise unto him. Itt pleased his Ma^{tie} to expresse as much, in effect, to my Lord of Southamton, with many other gracious words, in commendacon of this Plantacon, and signified further that his Ma^{ty} forthwith gaue commandment to my Lord Channellor, then present, that if this new patent were not sealed for to forbear the Seale, and if it were sealed and not delivered, that they should keep it in hand till they were better informed. His Lo^p further signified that uppon

Saturday last they had been wth my Lord Chauncellor about it, when were present the Duke of Lenox, the Earle of Arundell, Mr. Secretary, and some others, who, after a full hearinge of y^e allegacons on both sides, did order that the patent should be deliuered to be perused by some of the Southerne Collony, who are to make reporte of what excepcons they finde thereunto against the next meetinge.¹

• PROPOSED SETTLEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA.

Nov. 15, 1620. "Some of the Summer Ilands Company moued that the Courte would be pleased, as well in respect that the Barmudas was sould unto them for a farr greater quantitie of land then they nowe finde itt to be, as allso for the better enableinge of them to subsiste and to procure and maynteyne a mutuall dependance and traffique hereafter, to graunt and confirme unto them, in this great and generall Quarter Courte, a good porcon of Land in Virginia, on that side of the Coaste as lyes nearest unto them, either att Ronoque southerly, or else whereat shall be most conuenient for them, not being yett inhabited; wch request the Courte taking into consideracon, did order and agree that accordinge to the number of their shares, (being in all 400 or thereabouts), they should haue for euery share 100 acres of land in Virginia, and 50 acres for every person that shall be transported thither. * * * * The Courte ordered that a lre should be written to the Go-

¹ On the 15th Southampton said that he had that afternoon stated to the Privy Council their exceptions to the New England patent, and that it had been ordered that for the present the patent of Gorges should be sequestered, and that the Virginia Company would have their privilege of fishing.

vernor to sett out their bounds and lymitts where they shall like best to seat themselves, so as they may not be preiudicial to any other plantacon ther alredy.

REASON OF SOUTHAMPTON'S ABSENCE.

Dec. 13. "Sir Edwin Sandys signified unto this Courte that my Lo: of Southampton uppon some important occasions would not be present this afternoone but had all that parte of the day for many houers together taken extraordinary paines in a buisness that concerned them very much wherof they should afterward haue a good Account as soon as they hadd further pceeded therein, and brought the same to some better issue.

ARRIVAL OF SHIPS IN VIRGINIA.

"Hee further signified that they had receaued certificate of the saffe Arivall of all their Ships sent the last Springe, as namely the Frauncis, Bona Venture with all their people saue one, the Tryall and Faulcon with all theire Passengers, the London Marchant with all theirs, the Duty wth all saue one. And soe likewise the Swann of Barnstable, butt the Jonathan in her tedious passage of 200 had lost 16: Soe that by this last supply they had landed in Virginia, in all well neare the number of 800 persons for wch greate blessinge (with the loss of soe fewe) hee rendred unto the almightie all possible thanks.

DR. BOHNN, PHYSICIAN-GENERAL OF VIRGINIA.

"Mr. Doctor Bohnne hauinge desyred y^t hee might be a Phisition generall for the Company accordinge to such

condiçons as were formerly sett downe by way of Articles unto which place they had allotted five hundred acres of Land and twenty Tennants to be placed theruppon att the Companies charge. The Courte was pleased to accept of his humble sute for that place & imployment and therefore ordered that he should haue tenn men provided forthwith to goe now with him, and tenn more should be sent in this next Springe wch should be transported att the Companies charge and furnished as other of the Tennants be, provided that xxtie Tennants being thereon established and made good for one whole year after their Landinge, the said Doctor Bohune do after if any of them dye couenant to supply and mayntayne from time to time uppon the said Land: And att his decease or otherwise surrender of the said place, leaue the like number of men and stocke of cattle as are by order of Courte to the saide office allowed and appoynted.

CAPTAIN ROGER SMITH RETURNS TO VIRGINIA.

“Capt. Roger Smith¹ being desirous to goe this present voyage to Virginia, moued that he might haue the charge of some of those people that were now sent to be the Companies Tenants. And further that the Company would please to bestowe uppon him some meanes to make him the better fitt for the said voyage: Forasmuch therefore as the said Captaine Smith was recommended to be a gentleman very sufficient for that imployment and in regard of his good experience already (hauinge been hereto-

¹ For several years a prominent member of Council of Virginia. His plantation was at Charles city.

fore in Virginia about some three years) might thereby doe the Company great seruice: The Court was pleased for his better encouragement to giue him 30^{ld} freely to furnish him with necessaries and ordered that he should haue the comand of 50 persons now transported to be Tenants upon the Companies Lands.

A YOUNG SCHOLAR.

“The said Captaine Smith further moued in the behalfe of a younge Scholler desirous to goe with him this present voyadge that he might be admitted preacher to the people now sent. The Courte hereupon agreed to giue him a text to preach upon about a fortnight hence in the handling whereof if they found him a sufficient scholler, he should be entertayned accordingly.

CAPTAIN MADISON AN OLD PLANTER.

“Capt. Maddison¹ hauing been heretofore twelue yeares together in Virginia, and there imployed by S^r Thomas Dale (the Gouvernor) in discovering the said COUNTRYE and seuerall Riuers therein did nowe petiçon that he might retourne to the Colony and proceed in a further discovering of comodious places for habitaçon within the Land.

“The Court hereupon ordered that he should be treated with by the Committees both for the manner of his discovery as also to make it to appeare what the charge thereof will be unto the Company.

¹ Isaac Madison, an influential man.

EXPIRATION OF GOV. YEARDLEY'S COMMISSION.

Jan. 29, 1620-1. "My Lord of Southampton signified unto this Court that forasmuch as the time of S^r George Yeardley's comission of Gouvernorshipp would ere long be expired, beinge to continue but till November next:

"It was therefore expedient nowe at this Quarter Court (in respect of the shortnes of the time) either to confirme S^r George Yeardley againe in his said office by a newe elecōn: or to proceed to the choice of some other fitt person of qualitie to succeed him who might be prepared to goe to Virginia by July next at the farthest wch later course his Lo^p did the rather encline unto because he had receaued aduertisement of S^r George Yeardley importuning desire to relinquish his said office at the expiraōn of his said comission, in regards he had soe long a time togeather (now allmost three yeares) attended wholly upon the publique seruice.

NOMINATION OF SIR FRANCIS WYATT.

"His Lo^p therefore proposed unto the Company a gentleman recomended unto him for his many good parts (namely S^r Francis Wyatt) who was well reputed of, both in respect of his parentage, good education, integritie of life, and faire fortunes (being his Father's eldest sonne) as also for his sufficiency otherwise, being deemed every way without exception fittinge for this place who was likewise desirous to take this charge upon him if the Company would please to accept of his willingness to doe them seruice.

"Notwithstanding his Lo^p praied the Company not to neglect the nominaōn of some other if they could thinke of any one or more sufficient persons of quality that would

willingly undergoe this waightie burden of gouernment who might togeather with this gentleman aforenamed stand for the elecōn at the next Quarter Courte.

ELECTION OF GOVERNOR WYATT.¹

Jan. 31. "After these businesses were thus ordered, and the Court nowe full, my Lord of Southampton moued that if the Company so pleased they would now goe to the elecōn of their newe Gouvernor of Virginia who was to succeed S^r George Yeardley after the expiration of his said comission (wch is to determine in Nouemb. next,) S^r George Yeardley hauing then allso a desire to release and disburden himself of the said place of Gouvernm^t.

"The Court therefore proceeded hauing agreed to a present elecōn my Lo: prayed the Company that if according to his former admonition they had bethought themselves of any person of quality fitting for so eminent a place that would be willing to undertake the due managing thereof that they would now please to nominate the man, who

¹ George, the father of Gov. Wyatt, was at this time living in Ireland, and his wife was a daughter of Sir Thomas Finch. He died in 1624. His daughter Eleanora married Sir John Finch. His son Francis, Governor of Virginia, married Margaret, a daughter of Samuel Sandys. In a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton on June 19, 1623, there is reference to a relative in these words:

"An unruly son of the Lady Finch's, whom she sent to Virginia to be tamed within five or six days after his return fell into a quarrel with the watch, where he was so hurt, he died the next morning."

Gov. Wyatt arrived in Virginia in October, 1621, and left in the year 1626 on account of his private affairs in England, his father being dead. In 1639 he was made Governor the second time, but was soon succeeded by Berkeley. He died August 24, 1644, and was buried at Bexley in Kent.

might be put to the ballating box together with Sir Francis Wyate who was formerly proposed and recomended unto them. But no other person being so much named and for that this gentleman S^r Francis Wyate was both recommended and so well knowne to be euery way sufficient to take this charge upon him, he was in this great and generall Quarter Courte with the whole consent and approbation of the same (saue two only whose balles were found in the negation box,) chosen to be the successiue Gouvernor of Virginia after S^r George Yeardley :

WYATT RETURNS THANKS.

“Wch place S^r Francis Wyate hauing wth much thankfulness accepted of, and with a free acknowledgement of his affection and resolution constantly bent to doe the Company the best seruice he could in that place : It was likewise moued that for his better encouragement herein the Court would be pleased to bestowe another fauor upon him by admitting him one of his Ma^{ty} Counsell here for Virginia, wch motion was thought very reasonable, and was generally assented unto, as being willing in point of honor to enable and encourage him, the better to undertake the said place of gouernmt upon him.

DRAFT FOR A NEW PATENT.

“An extraordinary Court held for Virginia 22 Februarij 1620 [21].

“S^r Edwin Sandys signified unto the Company that my Lord of Southampton by reason of this buissey time of Parliamt^t could not be spared to be here at this present meetinge ;

and therefore desired to be excused, he further acquainted them that the occasion of their being assembled this day was to let them knowe, how carefull he had been, in the drawing up of their newe Patent, now presented to be read unto them, wherein he reported what extraordinary paines he had taken, as well to amend in this new draft, the defects he had noted in all the former Patents, also to supply out of them, and other presidents of like nature, what he in his own experience and iudgement had obserued to be necessary for them, as also he had not omitted to inserte therein, such necessary cautions, as would hereafter serue and saue them harmles against any Proclamation or Patent, that might (as heretofore) be procured to their preiudice, the same being once passed under the Seale and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

THE TITLE OF GOVERNOR SUBSTITUTED FOR TREASURER.

“But before the reading of this newe Patent, he desired to acquainte them with some alteracons he had made therein, * * * espeacially in two points namely in the head, and in the body thereof. First in the head, That whereas in the former Patents their cheife officer was called by the name of Treasurer he had in this giuen him a more eminent title, by styling him their Gouvernor: because the name Treasurer seemed to imply an inferior officer an one that was to be an Accountant.

THE NAME OF NEW ENGLAND.

“And because the Northerne Colony=Aduenturers, had to their Territories giuen the name of New-England, he

thought fitt that theirs did still retaine the ould name of Virginia, for by this meanes all Virginia should be theirs, for the body of this Patent, as namely in their new Incorporaçon he said, he had likewise differed from the former in two points: first in the materiall parte thereof, by abridgeg the same, and restrayning it onely to such Adventurers and Planters as haue at least one share of Land of 200 acres in Virginia: and for the formall parte thereof as well to auoide the infinity of names by reason of the multitude of Adventurers (encreasing still more and more,) as for that many were already named in a former Patent he therefore thought good in this to name only the Lords of the higher howse of Parliament, and add thereunto these words comprehending in effect all the rest: viz: togeather with all other Adventurers and Planters in Virginia; and some other necessary alteraçons and addiçons he said he had made in some other parte of the said Patent, wch in the readinge he would notifie unto them desiringe their attention to the readinge thereof, and to giue their best advise about the same.

EDWARD BENNETT'S TREATISE.

April 12, 1621. "S^r Edwin Sandys moued that in regards Mr. Edward Bennett¹ a cittizen had so well deserved of this Company by a treatise wch he made touching the inconuenience that the importaçon of Tobacco out of Spaine had brought into this land; and by his often attendance upon the Comittees of the Lower howse of Comons

¹ An influential London merchant. Established a plantation opposite Jamestown. Uncle of Richard Bennett, so prominent in the early history of Virginia and Maryland.

about the same (who were well inclyned to afford their best assistance for prohibiting the bringing of Spanish Tobacco) that therefore he might haue the fauor to be admitted a free member of the Company wch moçon was thought very reasonable and being putt to the question was generally assented unto and confirmed by erecçon of hands.

GEORGE SANDYS PROPOSED AS TREASURER OF THE COLONY.

“It pleased my Lo: of Southampton to propose a gentleman well knowne unto them all as a man very fitt to take that charge upon him namely Mr. George Sandys¹ who

¹ Brother of Sir Edwin, a poet and scholar. Before he left England he published a translation of five books of Ovid, to which Dryden alludes in a rhyming letter to Sandys after he reached Virginia :

“And worthy George, by industry and use,
Let's see, what lines Virginia will produce;
Go on with Ovid, as you have begun
With the first five books; let y'r numbers run
Glib as the former so shall it live long,
And do much honor to the English tongue.”

A second edition of the translation of the first five books was published in 1621, in 16mo form, pp. 141, with introduction. The work completed while in Virginia was published in 1626, at London, in folio, with the title “Ovid's Metamorphosis, Englished, Mythologized, and Represented in figures. An Essay to the Translation of Virgil's *Æneis*. By G. S.,” and in 1640 another illustrated and annotated edition, folio, was published in London.

Sandys lived to be an aged man, and died at the house of his niece, the wife of Gov. Wyatt, at Bexley in Kent. In the Register of Bexley Abbey is the following entry :

“Georgius Sandys, Postarum Anglorum sui sæculi facile princeps, sepultus fuit Martii 7, stilo Anglic. An. Dom. 1643.”

indeed was generally so well reputed of, for his approued fidelity sufficiency and integrity: as they conceaued a fitter man could not be chosen for that place and thereupon agreed to his elecōn; referring him to the former comittees to be further treated and concluded with concerning the same.

CAPT. JOHN SMITH OFFERS AN AMENDMENT.

“ Hereupon, and upon declaraōn of the state of the newe Patent made by Sr Edwyn Sandys, Mr. Smith took occasion, first to ptest that his desyne in that he had to speake, reflected not either upon y^e person of the nowe Gouverno^r in Virginia, or upon the new Gouvernor here in Court, or upon any other in particular but for the generall hono^r and welfare of the plantation was to entreat of my Lord of Southampton and the Counsell that in the said Patent (if no such addiōn of power were therein inserted) authority might be giuen to the quarter Courte to question the Gouvernor of Virginia here in England if the ill merritt of his gouernment should so deserue, and to punish him by fyne or otherwise. For he could not but declare that not publicum but priuatum comodum did seeme to haue been their ends of effecting that place; for his priuate Letters (whereof he had at tymes receaued aboue forty) did as he thought truely informe. That no direcōns or instrucōns (wch with singler wisdomē dilligence and care) had from tyme to tyme issued from the Treasurer, and Counsell here, had been put by them in execuōn to the loss of many mens liues there, to the hinderance and scandall of the whole Plantaōn, and to the disesteeme and slightinge of the persons of the Treasurer and Coun-

sell here, and the authoritie of the whole Court, wch he only presumed to comend to their consideracons.

REPLY TO SMITH'S MOTION.

“ But thereunto answere was made y^t it was the opinion of Mr. Attorney Generall upon a smaler matter in their newe Patent than this was (namely the punishment of Labourors, artificers and such like offenders) that he feared, it would haue much adoe to passe with such a clause the howse of Parliament. And besides they had already power in the said Patent to displace the Gouvernor upon iust occasions: wch was conceaued to be as much as would be graunted unto them by Acte of Parliament touching that point.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH PROPOSES TO COMPILE A HISTORY.

April 12, 1621. “ Mr. Smith moued, that for so much as y^e lottaries were now suspended, which hitherto had continued the reall and substantiall food, by which Virginia hath been nourished, that insteade thereof shee might be now preserued by divulginge faire and good report as shee and her worthy undertakers did well deserve, declaring that it could not but much advance the Plantacon in the popular opinion of the Comon Subjects to haue a faire and perspicuous history, compiled of that Country, from her first discouery to this day: and to have the memory and fame of many of their worthies, though they be dead, to liue and be transmitted to all posteritie; as namely: S^r Thomas Dale, S^r George Somers, S^r Walter Rawleigh, the Lo De-la-warr, S^r Thomas Gates, and diuers others whereunto were it not for suspition of flattery, he would wish also the name of many her other worthies yet liuinge and some of

them now present in Court, might have also their hono^{ble} and good deseruinge comended to eternall thankfullness, for that our inabilities had as yet no trewer coyne, wherewith to recompense their paines and merritt; affirming also, that the best now planted parts of America under the Spanish goverment nor their Annals or histories of those times, in their like age of ours, nowe 12 years old Virginia afforded better matter of relaçon than Virginia hath donn: and doth. With what effect such a generall history, (deduced to the life to this yeare), would worke throughout the Kingdome, with the generall and comon subject, may be gathered by the little pamphletts or declaraçons lately printed: And besides fewe succeedinge yeares would soon consume the lives of many whose livinge memories yet retayned much, and devour those letters and intelligences which yet remaine in loose and neglected papers: for which boldness, in mouinge hereof, he prayed his Lo^{ps} pardon, ledd hereunto upon the request of some fellows of the Generallity.¹

¹ The records of the Company do not show that any action was taken upon the proposition, although Smith, in his *General History* published in 1624, says it was accepted.

Captain Smith's *General History* was published after the Quo Warranto was issued against the Virginia Company, and it is evident that he wrote in the interest of their opponents. There is no evidence beyond his statement that the letters which he publishes as written to the Company were ever received by them.

His writings are those of a gascon and beggar. He seemed to be always in the attitude of one craving recognition or remuneration for alleged services, and Fuller's description of his writings and character in the *Worthies of England*, is probably not far from the truth. He is, however, worthy of being remembered, as an early explorer of the Atlantic coast. Massachusetts has already a monument to his memory.

ELECTION OF WILLIAM NUCE, MARSHAL OF VIRGINIA.

May 2, 1621. "Proceedinge to the eleccon of Marshall for somuch as Captaine William Newce was onely proposed to stand to the eleccon and to be put to the Ballating Box, was by the same chosen wth a generall consent (saue of three balls onely found in the negatiue boxe) to be Marshall of Virginia.

Will not her example provoke Virginia and Maryland to the same good work, as the first map of the James River and Chesapeake Bay was prepared for Smith's *True Relation*?



CHAPTER XII.

PROCEEDINGS DURING THE SECOND YEAR OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP.

“**A**T a great and generall Quarter Courte held for Virginia on Wednesday the second of May, 1621.

“After those buisnesses were thus ordered and the day farr spent, it was moued that seeing my Lo. of Southamptō was not yet come, they might notwithstanding proceed to the elecōn of their newe Treasurer for the yeare ensuinge: wch moōn being agreed unto and my Lo: of Southamptō onely proposed for elecōn his Lo^p was forthwith ballated according to order and thereby chosen with a full and generall consent of the whole Courte (as appeared by the Balls there being not one against y^t) to continue and hold the said place of Treasurer for the ensuing yeare.¹

¹ A few weeks after this election the Treasurer, Earl of Southamptō, and his predecessor, Sir Edwin Sandys, were committed by order of the King. Two persons were deputed to search Sir Edwin's study, which done they required his wife's keys to search her cabinet and boxes, which she readily obeyed, and told the parties that she wished his majesty had a key to unlock her husband's heart, that his majesty might see there was not anything therein but loyalty.

The Earl of Southamptō's answer to the commissioners sent from the King was, that if his offense was criminal he was to answer in the Star

NORWOOD RECOMMENDED AS SURVEYOR.

"Mr. Norwood¹ being recommended by Captain Tucker for his sufficiency in surveying of Lands and one desirous to goe ouer to Virginia, upon that was now chosen for that place and referred to the former Committee to treat with him concerning some allowances to be giuen unto him.

CAPT. JOHN SMITH ASKS FOR A REWARD.

"Captain John Smith² in his petition sheweth that for so much as he hath not onely aduentured money for the good of the Plantacon and twise built James Towne and

Chamber; if capital, at the King's Bench; if of lesser moment, at the Council table; and further declared, that for his own part he was resolved not to do any thing which might prejudice the privilege and freedom of a member of Parliament. In about a month they were released. *Court and Times of James First*, pp. 259, 267.

¹ Richard Norwood had surveyed the Somers Islands when they were first settled. He did not go to Virginia. In a letter written from Somers Islands in May, 1645, he says he had taught school there for thirty years, and that he had at that time twenty scholars. He was the pioneer English teacher in North America.

² Captain Smith was a talented and adventurous man, but made remarkable allegations. He arrived at Jamestown May 13, 1607, and was sent home in the fall of 1609. He adventured £9 in the Company. His request for aid was never reported on by the committee. Good old Fuller in his *Worthies of England*, says: "From the Turks in Europe he passed to the pagans in America, where such his perils, preservations, dangers, deliverances, they seem to most men above belief, to some beyond truth. * * * It soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." He died June 21, 1631.

fower other particular Plantacons as he alledgeth but for that he discouered the country and releaued the Colony willingly three yeares with that wch he gott from the Sauages wth great perill and hazard of his life : that therefore in consideracon hereof the Company would please to reward him either out of the Treasury here, or out of the profits of the generallity in Virginia: Touching wch request the Court hath referred him to the Comittees appointed for rewarding of men upon merrits.

ELECTION OF SECRETARY OF THE COLONY.

June 11. "But touchinge the Secretary of State there that now is namely (Mr. Porey) it remained to know their Pleasure whether they would continue him still in his said office or make a change. Whereupon it was signified that for so much as Mr. Porey had not caried himself well in the said place to the contentmt of the Company it was conceaued to be the generall purpose of the court to change him for a better so nere as they could and therefore desired some other might be nominated unto them. Whereuppon Mr. Deputy gave notice of 4 worthie gentlemen that had been recommended unto him for that place, all of them well-bred, sufficientlie well quallified, so as the meanest of them seemed more worthie of a better place, not in respect of the quallitie thereof, but in respect of the enter-taynement belonging thereunto; so as it was his grieve that they had not places for them all, but must be forced to dismisse three of them.

"The names of the said gentlemen were these: Mr. Paramore, Mr. Dauison, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Waterhouse, who hath been recomended by Sir John Daüers for three

things especially, namely, his honestie, religion, and sufficiencie, for wch he would undertake, uppon that knowledge they had of him, this gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, should make good to their full satisfac̃on.

“Butt itt was signified that they all fower having been comended to the Lord of Southampton, his lordship was so nobly mynded toward this company as to leave them to their free libertie of choyce of any of them by an orderly elecon, and therefore wished they would, in the mean time, make some further enquirie against the next Courte.

June 13. “Mr. Deputy moued to knowe their pleasure whether they would haue Mr. Poreys comission renued or the place to be supplied by another. Whereuppon the Company declaring their desire to make a change, there were fower gentlemen proposed for the said place, * * * being all of them recomended, by worthy psonns, for their honestie sufficiencie, and experience in Secretary affaires, but because no more butt three could stand for the elec̃on, itt was putt to the question wch three they would have nominated for that purpose, whereuppon Mr. Smith was dismissed, and the other three appoynted to stand for the elec̃on, who beinge all three putt to the Ballating Box, choise was made of Mr. Dauison, he havinge the major p’t of Balls, who, beinge called in to take notice that the Secretaries place was fallen uppon him, did declare his thankful acknowledgm’t unto the Company of their fauour towards him, promising his best to answer their expectac̃on of him.

AN APOTHECARY OFFERS HIMSELF.

“It was signified unto the Courte that an Apothecary offered to transporte himself and his wife att his own charge

to Virginia if the Company would please to giue them their transporte of two children, the one beinge under the age of eight, and the other, a youth of good yeares: wch offer the Courte did verie well like as in respecte of the great want of men of his profession, and beinge putt to the question did agree therunto; Prouided that the said Apothecary att his cominge ouer did exercise his skill and practise in that profession w'ch itt should be lawfull and free for him to doe, and to that end should be recomended to the Gouvernor.

MINISTERS FOR THE COLONY.

"Intelligence beinge giuen of two Mynisters y^t offered themselues to goe for Virginia the Court referred them to be treated and concluded with by ye Committees.

And for so much as S^r Fraunces Wyat desyred hee might make choyse of one that was willinge to goe with him y^e Courte assented therunto.

HEIR OF RICHARD HAKLUYT.

"Mr. Edward Hackluite assigned two Shares of 25^{l^d} Aduenture to one John More being next heire to Richard Hackluite his father deceased, desyred itt might pass the approbacon of this Courte which was accordingly graunted they findinge his said Father uppon search of the booke no way indebted to the Company for y^e same.¹

¹ The son of Hakluyt is said to have been a spendthrift.

LETTER FROM DANIEL GOOKIN OF CORK, IRELAND.

July 2. "Mr. Deputy signified of a letter he had received from Mr. Gookin of Ireland who desired y^t a clause in the contract between him and the Company touching Cattle wch hee had undertaken to transport to Virginia after the rate of eleuen pounds the Heiffer and Shee Goats at 3^{ld} 10^s a peece for wch he might take any Commodities in Virginia at such prizes as the Company here had sett downe hee desired y^t those words might bee more cleerly explained. And to this effect Mr. Deputy signified y^t they had drawne a Letter in the name of the Counsell and Company unto Mr. Gookin declaringe that their intent and meaninge was itt should be Lawfull and free for him and his factors to Trade barter and sell all such Commodities hee shall carry thither att such rates and prizes as he shall thinke good and for his Cattle shall receive either of the Gouvernor or other pryuate persons any of the comodities there growinge att such prizes as hee cann agree. And lastly y^t accordinge to Mr. Gookins' request in his said l^re they had promised y^t hee should haue a Pattent for a p^ticular Plantation as Large as y^t graunted to S^r William Newce and should allso haue liberty to take 100 hoggs out of the Forest uppon condiçon that he repay the said number againe unto the Company within the tearme of seauen yeares: Provided that hee use them for breed and increase and not for present slaughter.

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES PREPARED.

"And further to this effect they had allso drawn a letter to the Gouvernor and Counsell of State in Virginia both

wch beinge now pſented and read the Court did very well approue of and gaue order that the Seale of the Counsell should be affixed to that addressed to Mr. Gookin, and that some of y^e Counsell should signe the other to the Counsell of Virginia.

ARRIVAL OF THE BONA NOVA.

July 10. "Mr. Deputie signified, that thè occasion of warninge the Courte this present day was to acquaint them with the aryuall of the Bona Noua rydinge att Anchor neer the Ile of Wight, by wch Ship hauing receiued diuers letters, and one generall Letter from the Counsell of State in Virginia directed to the Company here hee thought fitt to imparte itt unto them att this meetinge and hereuppon prayed they would attend y^e hearinge of them wch being read the pticular relaçons gaue the Company verie great content to hear that some Staple Comodities, as Vines, and Silke, began to be planted accordinge to the Companies former directions and that they prospered with so good successe.

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

"As allso to heare of the confirmaçon of a Peace, and of a League wth the Indian Kinge wherby not onely a great trade and comerce with them heareafter for Corne and other Comodities is like to ensue and good means allso for conuerting them to Christianytie and to draw them to liue amongst our people.

DISCOVERIES IN HUDSON AND DELAWARE RIVERS AND ELSEWHERE.

"Butt fitt occasions likewise seem now to be offered of further Discoueries up into the Countrie both for the find-

inge out of the South Sea and certaine Mynes menconed in the said letters will undoubtedlie conduce to the great honor and enlargement of the generall Plantacon in a short time; Ther was also read unto the Company a relaçon of three seuerall Voyadges made this last Sumner, one to y^e Southward to Roanocke made by Mr. Marmaduk Rayner. A second by Ensigne Sauadge in the great Bay wherein is a relaçon of a great Trade of Furrs by Frenchmen; A Third Mr. Dirmers Discoueries from Cape Charles to Cape Codd up Delawarr Riuer, and Hudson's Riuer beinge butt 20 or 30 leagues from our Plantacon and within our lymits, in which Riuers were found diuers Ships of Amsterdam and Horne who yearly had there a great and rich Trade for Furrs wch haue moued the Gouvernor and Counsell of State in Virginia earnestly to sollicite and inuite the Company to undertake soe certaine and gainfull a Voyage.

“ Mr. Chamberlyn likewise informed the Comp^a of the great Trade that the Frenchmen had in those pts of Virginia to their infinite gaine wch might with far less charge and greater ease be undertaken by the Company.

REV. MR. BOLTON.

“ Uppon the Right Honorable the Ea: of Southampton's recommendacons of Mr. Bolton¹ Minister for his honestie and sufficiencie in Learninge and to undertake the care and charge of the Mynistry, The Company have been

¹ Rev. Mr. Bolton was sent to Elizabeth City, but subsequently assigned to the plantations on the Eastern Shore, now Accomac and Northampton counties.

pleased to entertaine him for their Mynister in some vacant place in Virginia and have therfore referred him to the Committee to be treated and concluded with touchinge his allowance and seated where they shall thinke fitt and most conuenient for him.

DR. POTT PHYSICIAN IN PLACE OF BOHUN.

July 16. "For so much as the Phisiçons place to the Company was now become voyde by reason of the untimely death of Dr. Bohune¹ slaine in the fight wth two Spanish Ships of Warr the 19th of March last; Doctor Gulstone² did now take occasion to recomend unto the Company for the said place one Mr. Potts a M^r of Artes and as hee afirmed well practised in Chirurgerie and Phisique, and expert allso in distillinge of waters and that hee had many other ingenious deuises, soe as he supposed his seruice would be of great use unto the Colony in Virginia, but prayed y^t wheras Doctor Bohune was tyed by his Contract to supply such of his Tenants as should dy after the first year att his owne charge, that Mr. Potts³ might be released of that

¹ Dr. Bohun died encouraging the crew to fight.

² Theodore Gulston was the son of Rev. Wm. Gulston. Educated at Oxford. Not only a good physician but versed in classical and theological lore. He died in 1632, and bequeathed £200 to the College of Physicians for an anatomy lectureship. The Gulstonian lecture is still delivered.

³ John Pott had a peculiar career in Virginia. For several years he was a Councillor, and in 1629, when Lord Baltimore visited Virginia, was Governor. Upon the arrival the next year of his successor, the rough Harvey, he was charged by his enemies with pardoning Edward Wallis of Archer's Hope, a willful murderer, and guilty of other crimes. Harvey confined him to Harrope, his plantation, seven miles from James City,

couenant being too strict and ouerhard as hee supposed ; butt it was aunswered itt was not in the power of any other butt a Quarter Courte to reverse or alter the same but should allwaies finde the Company in all things verie reasonable to all well deseruinge men, and therefor if Mr. Potts would accept of the place uppon the same condiçons as Dr. Bohune did he should be entertayned and for his better content should be specially recommended to the Gouvernor to be well accommodated and should have a Chest of Phisique of 20^{ld} charge unto the Company, and all things thereunto apptayninge together with 10^{ld} in Books of Phisique wch should allwaies belonge unto the Company, wch Chest of Phisique and Books Doctor Gulstone was desyred to buy. And seeinge he intended to carry ouer with him his wife, a man and a mayde they should haue him transported free, and if one or more Chirurgions could be gott they likewise should haue their passage freed, wch Condiçons Mr. Potts hauing accepted of was referred to the Comittees to be further treated & concluded with.

REV. H^{agt}T WYATT.

11 | "It was signified that S^r Frauncis Wyatts brother¹ beinge a M^r of Arts and a good diuine and very willinge

now Williamsburgh, and confiscated his property. His wife Elizabeth proceeded to England to appeal against the wrongs done her husband. The Commissioners who examined the case reported that the condemning of Dr. Pott upon superficial hearing, for felony, was very rigorous. The King, on July 25, 1631, pardoned him, especially as he was "the only physician in the Colony."

11 | ¹ Rev. H^{agt}t Wyatt returned with his brother to England, and became Vicar of Bexley in Kent. Opposed to the retrograde tendencies of

to goe with him this present Voyadge, might be enter-
tayned and placed as Mynister ouer his people, and haue
the same allowance towards the furnishing of himselfe
with necessaries as others haue hadd, and that his wife
might haue her transporte freed, wch mocon was thought
verie reasonable, and ordered by ereccon of hands that hee
should be entertayned and haue the place hee desyred, and
the like allowance of monny graunted unto Mr. Bolton
lately entertayned.

THE COMPANY'S LETTER TO COLONIAL AUTHORITIES, DATED JULY
25, 1621, SENT IN THE SHIP GEORGE.

"After our harty comendations, we receiued yo'r letters
by the Bona Nova so lately, as we haue not had leasure
to peruse them, being oppressed with a multitude of buss-
ness, that night and day employed us. We shall therefore
by this letter only touch some principall points, reserving
ourselves to a time of more leasure fully to deliberate, and
give you answer, referringe you for a supply of matters
therein omitted to our generall instructions, which we
desire you diligently to peruse and punctually to observe.
Wee have sent you S^r Francis Wyatt to be the future Go-
vernor, to whom we require all respect and obedience be
given. Mr. Sandys we have ellected our Treasurer, and
stated his place and given him authority to cause all our

Archbishop Laud he was arraigned before the High Commission. He
left some of his children in Virginia, one of whom may have been Ralph
Wyatt, who married a widow of Capt. William Button, a gentleman who
for public services had received from the Privy Council of England a
large grant of land, on both sides of the river Appomatox.

orders concerning staple commodities to be putt in execution. Mr. Davison is chosen by the Quarter Court for Secretary. Their dispatches have wholly possess^d us for a while, and we hope that by the addition of such able ministers, you will be enabled to performe what we particularly enjoyne. The want of able officers haue been heretofore pleaded for the cause our directions have been no better observed. Wee desire that these gentlemen may be well accommodated at their landinge, and their peo-

Preachers sent.

u / ple well lodged. Wee have likewise sent you two sufficient preachers, Mr. Hapt Wyatt, who is to be preacher to the Governor's Tenants; and Mr. Bolton, whom we have consigned to Elizabeth Citty to inhabit with Capt. Tho. Nuce to whom we recomend him, understanding that Mr. Stock-

Physicians and Surgeons.

ton¹ is otherwise stated. And for supply of the Physician's place, we have sent you Doctor Pott, with two Chirurgions and a chest of Phisicke and Chirurgery; not doubtinge but youe will entertaine and supplie them well at his landinge, with all necessities and according unto the Companies promise, give him helpe for the speedy buildinge of a house imediately upon his arrivall.

Claiborne chosen Surveyor.

"The twenty tenants formerly sent must be delivered him, and the land belonging to his place sett out, and what

¹ Rev. Mr. Stockton succeeded Rev. Wm. Wickham at Henrico and Bermuda Hundred.

are wantinge of the number of twenty are to be supplied out of the Companye's Tenants, which wee doubt not but may be done with their very good sattisfaction. Itt is our expresse will that the Tenants belonging to every office, be fixed to his certaine place uppon the lands sett out for itt, for which Mr. Cleyburne is chosen to be our Surveyor,¹ who at the Companies very great charge is sett out, as by his condition of agreement you may perceive. Great hath been the care of the Company to sattisfy your desires that they have spared for no paines nor charge.

"The publique lands sett out, and that which belongs to publique persons, his next employment must be to sett out lands belonging to p'ticular Plantations, and then that of private persons: for the publique he is to do by vertue of his place without other than the former salarie, neither may he exceed when he is employed by any private persons the rate of vi^s the day, which some must be duly paid him in good and valuable comodities. And for that we find by experience that notwithstandinge our strict comands to the contrary divers shipps sett out for monthly wages

¹ Claiborne was one of the most enterprising men of the Colony. At an early period he planted on Kent Island in the Chesapeake, and had a post at Palmer's Isle, at the mouth of the Susquehanna. In 1629 he led an expedition against Candayack, now West Point, at mouth of Pamunkey, and for his services to the Colony he was granted a tract of land at this point. He was much maligned by the officers of Lord Baltimore because he would not relinquish his rights as a citizen of Virginia. Edmundson, a Quaker preacher, in 1673 met him at a religious meeting, and was invited to call at his house. Soon after this he must have died, for the preacher in his journal says: "He was a solid, wise man, received the truth, and died in the same, leaving two Friends his executors." His descendants are numerous in the south and southwest of the United States.

make long and unnecessary staies, to our excessive charge, and that for want of due care shipps come so unsufficiently provided, as we have reason to feare that some of them have foundred in the sea, and also to prevent the fraud and abuse of M^{rs} of Shipps and mariners in detention of goods sent to the Planters, and in selling their goods at

John Pountis Vice Admiral.

excessive rates; Therefore we have ellected Mr. John Pountis, our Vice Admirall provisionally for one year till by a Quarter Court his place may be confirmed unto him and stated with Tenants, being assured that by his sufficiencie, integrity and industrie these and many such growing mischiefes will be prevented.

A Private Magazine.

“With great difficulty we have erected a private magazine, men being most unwilling to be drawn to subscription to be paid in smoke: if therefore youe expect for the future any such place it must be your principall care, the Cape Merchant be not constrained to vent his comodities att any sett price, and in particular not to be enforced to take Tobacco at any certain rate; and that you be aiding as well to this as to the former Magazine for the returne of debts we require that the Market be open for all men, that the charitable intentions of the adventurers be not abused and turned into private gaine: Therefore we desire you to have principally in your care, that a strict Proclamation be sett out to prohibitt such engrossing of comodities, and forestalling the market, thereby to vent it to the poor people at excessive rates, such oppression and grindinge of the poor wee in our hearte abhorre, and require

you severely to punishe, assuring youe nothing can be more pleasing unto us, than the exemplarie punishment of such Monsters as devoure their brethren by this wicked and barbarous course, especially if such wickednesse should be exercised by men in place or authority.

Mr. Berkley to establish Iron Works.

“The advancement of the Iron Workes we esteeme to be most necessarie, by perfecting whereof we esteeme the Plantation is gainer: we therefore require all possible assistance be given to Mr. Berkley¹ now sent and all furtherance to his ship especially good entertainment at their landinge, that they may be well lodged and cherished with such comfortable help as the place will afford, which we will thankfully requite to any that shall advance this our much desired worke. And here againe we renew our former comendations of Mr. Lapworth, and that in a very effective manner.

Dutchmen sent to erect Saw-mills.

“In the next place we comend unto your care our Saw Mills, a work of such importance as it deserves your speciall furtherance and therefore we desire the Dutchmen sent for the fabricke of them may be extraordinarily well used and carefully provided of apparell out of the new Magazine, which we would have paid for by the Companies Tobacco; as for such other necessities as they want especially, butt which cannot now be shipped for want of time and tunnage, wee have desired S^r Francis Wyat to

¹ John Berkeley, formerly of Beverstone Castle, Gloucester, a gentleman of an honorable family. *Waterhouse.*

supply them with, which he shall be repaid, and thus supplied wee hope they will be encouraged to bring that so much desired worke to perfection.

Indian Civilization.

“We exceedingly approve the course in taking in of Indian families as beinge a great meanes to reduce that nation to civility, and to the imbracing of our Christian religion, the blessed end wee have proposed to ourselves in this Plantation, and we doubt not of your vigilancie that you be not thus entrapped, nor that the Savadge have by this meanes to surprize you. And to you Mr. Thorpe we will freely confesse that both your letters and endeavours are most acceptable to us: the entering upon those staple comodities of wine and silk wee highly comend and assure you it is the Companies care to reward your merit, which debt they will discharge if either the Clergie heare supply our Stocke, or a return from the College Tenants shall enable us. In the meane while they desire you to proceed in these noble courses assuring you of all love and respect.

White Earth.

“The vessels of earth you sent wee have not yett received, when tryall is made you shall heare from us. And we pray you all in generall that such extraordinary oare or earth as you find you send us over in plentie, for that which was sent by your Capt. Nuce was in so small proportion as we hardly could make any triall thereof; we conceive it to be Terra Lemnia and it is exceeding good for the flux, youe shall therefore do well to bring it into use in the Colony: we desire youe Captain Newce therefore to send us over three or foure Tunne of the said white earth.

“And we desire youe the Governor and Counsell to haue an especiall care that no greater proportion thereof than we from time to time direct youe be brought over, for if it be brought over in greater quantity it will not pay the freight. This comodity is intended to be apropriated to the generall Company and if any benefitt shall be received thereby itt shall be employed in fortification and other publique and pious worke for the advancement of the Colony.

Captain Nuce.

“And for that the Comp’y of youe Capt. Neuce as great hopes as of any of their publique instruments, and haue by your letters received great satisfaction therefore they have in bountie added to your former proportion of Land 300 acres which is to be appropriated to the place for ever: for manuringe which they by Quarter Courte have ordered that youe shall have ten men sent over by next yeare, only they desire that you will be so provided of corn and other necessities as they may be only at the charge of transport, armes, apparrell and workinge tooles; and not for vittualls, because the stocke is exhausted. We have sent a shipp of cattell from Ireland whereof we desire that Capt. Newce first be served with his promised number.

Trade in Hudson and Delaware Rivers.

“The hopes youe have putt the Company in of a trade of furs to be had in Hudson’s and De La Ware river, have made many private adventurers of great worth and well affected to the Plantation to sett out a shipp to that particular end, to which we desire youe to give all possible furtherance. The voidages and discoveries already made

within the Land, as also upon the sea coast we highly comend: and desire a constant course be held therein: for in that consists the very life of the Plantation.

Guest Houses.

“We comend to your care especially the building of Guest-houses, which we strictly charge youe to be brought to perfection: we conceive that bussiness would have been effected, if half so much care and time had been taken to do it, as hath been spent in giving reasons to the contrary. The plea of impossibility we admitt nott; the discontent we assume ourselves is rather a bug-beare, than an essentiall cause of forbearance; the spoile of our goods by frequent removes is a weake allegation: but that it should be a more regular kind of killinge of men (as some have been pleased to write) we deeme strange error of judgment.

Abuse of Company's Tenants.

“We cannot conceale from youe, that it is heare reported that contrary to the public faith given, not the sicke but the ablest men are lett out to hire and their provisions converted to private uses. And where it is pretended this planting them with old planters is for their health, they are so unmercifully used that it is the greatest cause of our tennant's discontent; and though we hope this is not in all parts true, yet we cannot conceive such unwillingness to proceed in this worke should they not have some other grounds than is alledged: lett it therefore be your worke at the first general session of the Counsell to effect this business, and it shall be our care to provide for the well ordering and furnishing of them.

Capt. Wm. Norton and the Glass Works.

“We comend unto you Capt. Wm. Norton who is now sett out by the general Company and many private adventurers for the erectinge of a Glass worke; we desire he may be planted with his gange in the Guest house that Lieutenant Whittakers hath erected us, there to reside till he hath found a convenient place to erect his furnace, in the choice whereof we desire you to give him your best assistance, and especially have a care to seat him neare some well inhabited place, that neither his Gange be subject to surprize, nor the comoditie of glasse and beads be vilified by too common a sale to the Indians.

Lieut. Whitaker commended.

“And we cannot forbear to deliver unto you the good opinion the company have received of Lieutenant Whitakers for the good accompt given by him of his charge, but especially of his obedience to them directing in erectinge a guest house for reward whereof they have confided unto him that which Sir George Yeardley last yeare gave him, and promised two servants to be imported next yeare thereby to encourage him and others to proceed in vertue, and continue in their obedience, whereof the Company and ourselves much like their arguments and discourses.

Minister for the College Tenants.

“We are in hopes to send to the College tennants a very sufficient Minister, and we desire youe Mr. Thorpe that a house may be ready for him and good provision to entertaine him; and the like course may be held in all the plantations.

Directions to Deputies Thorpe and Nuce.

“ We desire you Mr. Thorpe and Mr. Newce to be carefull of the presenting and that the moyity be equally divided and returned unto the Company: for the stock of the Company is utterly exhausted. We have sent you a Comission for the Counsell wherein we inserted the names of all such as our intent is shall be of the Counsell.

Oppressive Fees forbidden.

“ Againe we comend unto you that the people be not oppressed, especially that you limitt the fees of officers, and among them those of the Provost Marshalls and Jaylors whereof we have daily great complaints. We require that such matters as shall be laid uppon delinquents be hereafter registred and an accompt yearly be given of those that be tended and in what publique worke (to which we only restraine them) they are employed.

“ In generall we comend to your care all such bussiness as by particular letters concerninge private men we have formerly and now againe recomended unto you. And in particular from you the Governor wee expect a good accompt of the great trust we have reposed in you, hoping you will not faile in the least, but deliver upp to your successor Sir Francis Wyatt or in case he dy to such a one as by the Counsell in Virginia shall be chosen at the expiration of your Comission, the comand of the Colony in good and flourishing estate, and much better in condition than when you found itt wherein you shall do an acceptable thinge to us and glorious to yourself. In the meanwhile we expect the performance of some remarkable service

whereof you have meditated long, and have put us in hope you will effect before the period of your Government.

“And even so we comend you and all the rest to the protection of the Almightye.

Your very lovinge frends,

“Signed by the	EA. OF SOUTHAMPTON	MR. DEP. FERRAR
	SIR EDWIN SANDIS	MR. NICH TENN <i>Fenn</i>
	Do ^r ANTHONY	MR. GIBBS
	Do ^r GULSTON	MR. WROTE
	D ^r WINSTON	MR. WROTH.

- “London, this 25th of
July, 1621.”

COMPANY'S LETTER OF AUGUST 21, 1621, SENT IN THE MARMADUKE.

“After our harty comendation. In our last letter sent you by the George we promise a full and sattisfactory answer to all your propositions, but by reason of the absence of the most part of the Counsell, as also that bussiness daily beyond our expectation infinitely increaseth, we are constrained only to touch upon some few particulars, reserving ourselves for more oportune tyme when with a clear judgment we may fully deliver our minde to you. You shall receive by the hande of Mr. Leech now bound for Virginia in the Marmaduke, a copy of our last letter together with a duplicate of the Instructions and Comissions sent by the new Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, by whose happy arrivall we hope you are informed what care we have taken to give you full sattisfaction in most or all of your demands, and therefore we will hope for of the like respective information of our desires from you. There are gone and is going from here many shipps for Virginia,

and we canot but apprehend with great grieve the sufferings of these multitudes at their first landing, for want of Guest Houses wherein they might have a while shelter themselves from the injuries of the air in the cold season, which omission and defect we hope and very earnestly desire you will supply by a courteous and Christian entertainment of them in your owne houses, till they may conveniently provide themselves, and that against the next yeare, you will have erected in the foure several Boroughs, as many Guest houses to relieve these great numbers.

A Widow and Eleven Maids for Wives.

“We send you in this shipp one widdow and eleven maids for wives for the people in Virginia; there hath been especiaall care had in the choise of them for there hath not any one of them beene received but uppon good comendations, as by a noat herewith sent you may perceive: we pray you all therefore in generall to take them into your care, and most especially we recommend them to you Mr. Pountes that at their first landinge they may be housed, lodged and provided for of diet till they be marryed for such was the hast of sendinge them away, as that straightned with time, we had no meanes to putt provisions aboard, which defect shalbe supplied by the Magazine shipp; and in case they cannot be presently marryed we desire they may be putt to several householders that have wives till they can be provided of husbands. There are neare fiftie more which are shortly to come, we sent by our most honorable Lord William the Earle of Southampton and certain worthy gentlemen who taking into there consideration, that the Plantation can never flourish till families be planted and the respect of wives and children fix the people in the soyle;

therefore have given this faire beginninge for the reimbursinge of whose charges, itt is ordered that every man that marries them give 120^{lb} waight of best leafe Tobacco for each of them, and in case any of them dye that proportion must be advanced to make it upp to uppon those that survive; and this certainly is sett downe for that the price sett uppon the boyes sent last yeare beinge 20^{lb} which was so much money out of purse here, there was returned 66^{lb} of Tobacco only, and that of the worst and basest, so that freight and shrinkage reconed together with the baseness of the Comoditie there was not one half returned, which injury the Company is sensible of as they demand restitution, which accordingly must be had of them that took uppon them the dispose of them the rather that no man may mistake himself, in accomptinge Tobacco to be currant 3s sterling contrary to expresse orders. And though we are desirouse that marriadge be free according to the law of nature, yett under vow not have those maids deterred and married to servants but only to such freemen or tenants as have meanes to maintaine them: we pray you therefore to be fathers to them in this bussiness not enforcing them to marrie against their wills; neither send we them to be servants but in case of extremitie, for we would have their condition so much better as multitudes may be allured thereby to come unto you; and you may assure such men as marry those women that the first servants sent over by the Company shall be consigned to them, it being our intent to preserve families and proper married men before single persons: The tobacco that shall be due uppon the marriadge of these maides we desire Mr. Pountis to receive and return by the first, as also the little quantities of Pitzarn Rock and Piece of Oare the copie of

whose bill is here returned. To conclude the Company for some weighty reasons too long to relate have ordered that no man marrying these women expect the proportion of land usually allotted for each head, which to avoid clamor or trouble hereafter you shall do well to give them notice of.

“In the next place we commend unto care Capt W^m Norton and his Italians together with the rest of his Company to whom we pray you to be helpful at his landing, to convey his People and goods of to the guest house of Lieutenant Whitakers: It is the only body in this shipp that the Generall company hath interest in and therefore we will expect the best helpe and advice especially in making choice of a healthfull place to plant himself in neare to the best inhabited towne, either in Charles Citty or Henerico, but by no meanes lower than James Cittie; nor remote from people: and in case Capt Norton shall dy we pray you Mr George Sandys to undertake the oversight of the worke: and if he should faile by any misaccident (which God forbid) we entreat you Mr George Thorpe and Mr. Jo. Pountis to take it into your care and in your absence to appoint some trustie person to ouste that bussiness for which the generall Company and private adventurers will be very thankfull to you.

“The making of beads is one of Capt Nortons chiefe employments which being the mony you trade with the natives we would by no meanes have through to much abundance vilified, or the Virginians at all permitted to see or understand the manufacture of them: we pray you therefore seriously to consider what proportion of beads can be vented and therewith not abated and intimate the proportion to Capt Norton and his Italians and certifie the

same to us in your next letter, that accordingly we may limitt the quantitie that shall from time to time be made:

Indian Corn Improperly Substituted.

“ Upon sight of Capt. Nortons invoice you shall procure what living provisions he is sett out with, which in case of his failing we desire may be carefully preserved for his people. And here we cannot hide from you an information that is lately given us that sutch provisions as we send with new men were taken from them and Indian corne given them instead thereof, the extreame labor of beating thereof being no small disheartening to the new comers, and the suddaine change of dyett is affirmed confidently to be the cause of the flux in our men to an irreparable loss. We desire you the whole body of the Counsell to take care that those abusses be reformed for the future.

Lusty Youths for Martin's Hundred.

“ The adventurers of Martin's Hundred intend to proceed in theire plantation, they haue sent twelve lustie youths in this Shipp which supplie they will secure with a quota of fourty more in the Magazine Shipp very suddainly to followe theire governor Mr. Harwood is engaged to acquaint you with his instructions, to whom we pray you according give your best assistance.

Boats not to be sent among Indians for Corn.

“ Wee cannot butt condemne the use that is made your boats that we only employed in trading in the bay for corne almost every letter tells of that trade which we only approve you are of neecessitie, for we contend it would be much better for the plantation and more honorable for you and

o'r nation that the naturalls should come for their provisions to you, than you to begg your bread of them. We shall wth a great deale more content heare of store houses full of corne of your own growth, than your shallop laden with corne for the Bay: we pray you therefore that a larger proportion of ground be assignd to every man to plant than formerly hath been, and that severest punishment be inflicted uppon such as dare to break the constitution herein, and that officers be not spared nor the tenants nor their servants dispenced with. Our magazine is suddainly to follow the shipp, wherein there are much greater proportions of things sent than was in the last: And though wee nor will they sell theire comodities uppon trust we see that any thing is good enough for the marchant; how unworthy we and the Company are of this contempt we appeale to yourselves, yet hadd it not been repeated by you nor the insolence punished, but seeing our care and the ac'y is repaid with such monstrous ingratitude we desire you to give notice to the Collony that after this yeare they expect no further supply of any necessities to be exchanged with them for their darling tobaccos; we have given them a yeares notice beforehand that they may fall upon some other course.

r/ "And being sensible of the great losse the Adventurers still sustaineth by your roule tobacco made up with fillers (as the term is) order throughout the Collony that they may be provided to exchange with our cape marchant Mr. Butle; and such as willfully transgresst this having notice if they suffer for it, it shalbe no part of our care.

"There is an intention to send out an excellent shipwright with a gange of thirty or fortie carpenters and boatwrights. The Company is in treatie with him, and the roule of Ad-

venturers is almost full so that you may certainly expect him the next Spring. In the interim we pray you that a great number of trees of the white and black oake growing in wett grounds be felled and many more barked to season by standing. The time most fitting to fell and barke the trees is in November and December, and the beginning of Januarie. In the choise of the place we pray you to have respect unto the maners of the iron works, and of the saw mills; most especially we pray your assistance in the perfectinge of these two workes, the profit will redound to the whole Collony, and therefore it is necessary that you extend your authouritie to the utmost lymitts to enforce such as shall refuse the help to a bussiness so much tending to the generall good: If those works be not perfected the body of the shipwrights will be of no use, and if this opportunity be lost, mens hearts wilbe discouraged from further adventuring: we have to sattisfie your desires and to supplie your necessities enterd upon this p we therefore expect the best help to perfect your owne work whereby you shall do nothing glorious in itselfe, benefitt for yourselves and the whole Collony; acceptable to us and the whole Company, and being perfect it will be the securitie reputation, and defense of the litle Comon Wealth, which now in his infancie, must be supported by fame and hope of sutch comodities. And so desiringe God to bless youe and all your good endeavors tendinge to the advancement and establishing of the Collony we bid you farewell.

“London, this 12th of
August, 1621.”

Yo'r very L^o. friends,

"Wee send you againe copies of the letters and agree-
ments with Mr. Gookin and recomend his good entertain-
ment to you, and in particuler we seriously advise that
you do your best endeavors to pay him in tobacco though
at one D waight the cow, and to take as few cows as possi-
ble may be uppon mony heare to be paid by the Company,
because our stocke is utterly wasted ; let him have very
good tobacco for his cowes now at his first voiadge, for if
he make a good return it may be the occasion of a trade with
you from those parts, whereby you may be abundantly sup-
plied, not only with cattle, but with most of these comod-
ities that you want att better and easier rate than we from
hence shalbe able.

“Since the conclusion of our letter we have received
from his Ma'tie a Petition exhibiting unto him by cer-
tain ffrenchmen and Walloones Desires to inhabite in
Virginia: we have considered of these propositions and
have returned them so fine an answer as wee consider they
will resolve to go, they wilbe 60 families, consisting of
about 300 persons, you may expect them cominge about
the next spring. We hope they wilbe a great strength to
the Collony.

“Subscribed by the

“LO. SHEFFIELD
SR JOHN DNVERS
MR. SAM WROTE
MR. JO. FERRAR Deputie
INDRETON WINSTON
MR. NICHOL. FERRAR
M. THR: SHEPHERD.”

At 3/10/

COMPANY'S LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1621, AND SENT BY SHIP
WARWICK.

"Sept. 11, 1621.

or /
2/20/21
" After o^r very hartie Comendacons : you shall now by this Shipp the Warwicke and the Pinace that cometh along with her, receiue those supplies that we formerly in o^r letters by the George and Marmaduke promised ; the setting forth of wch hath beene of so exceeding and noble and labo^r unto us, being but a very few on whom so great a burthen hath lien, and we haue not been able to intend anything else : wherefore in that regard as also that the noble Earl of Southampton is not yet returned to London, nor those eminent persons without whose Counselle and authoritie we thinke it not fitt to proceed to resolucon in so waightie bussinesses ; y^r letters and dispatches by the Bona Nova, and the Margrett & John must yet remaine unanswered ; but by the Dutie wch about the middle of next month is to depart we hope you shall receive full sattisfaccon ; wch Shipp shall bring with her store of silke worrne seed and abundance of vine plants, for both wch we desire not only that generall pperations be made, but that timely notice and order be given throughout the whole colony, that every pticuler man may make prouision for the receiuinge of some quantitie of them both, and that a straight charge be giuen for the pserving of vines and mulberry trees, wch we understand with others are promiscuously defrayed ; and because the skill of handling them is only deriued from the Frenchmen we canot but here recomend this to yo^r fauo^r and regard that they may be kindly used and cherished.

Supplies for Frenchmen and Dutchmen.

“We haue as by the Inuoice you shall perceiue sent them and the Dutch-men (the delay of whose most necessarie workes is with much indignation here resented) diuers provisions of victualls as also a cloth to make them apparrell; for hose and shoes and other such matters we desire they may be supplied by the Companies stock there, out of the Magazine wch now comes along in the Warwicke large and abundante in all usefull and necessarie comodities.

Luxuries Discountenanced.

“For as for vanities and superfluities although we find they yeeld most profit in Virginia; yet we haue thought it most unfitt to nourish by such supplies that euil genius of pride and ryott wch we wish were utterly extinguished and this o’ care herein hath had an eie rather to the benefitt of the plantation than the profit of the Aduenturers; wch shall not we hope prove preiudiciall but rather breed a willingness and desire in the whole collony to make us a speedy and profitable returne of the stocke now sent, (and not as hitherto euill and disgratefull words for o’r zeale of their welfare and nothing at all is at least less than the principal laide out), for their relief and comfort :

Small Returns from Goods sent.

“For you shall understand, that (not only of the ould Magazine wch was aboue 7,000 pounds, we cannot hope to see much aboue half we hitherto haue not receiued any one peny) but euen the new Magazine sent last yeare

by Mr. Blany is returned back with the loss of the principall it self after almost two yeares time and so many hassards born and yet to beare ; a thing so unkindly and distastefully taken here as if the accompts had been sooner knowne we much feare that supplies now sent had been farr short of what they now are : But that we may not now againe incurr the like unworthy damages, we desire you by whose wisdom and integritie wee expect a generall redresse to be by all lawful and iust fauo^r aidinge and assistinge to the bussiness itselfe, and to o^r factor Mr. Blany that both his pson and the goods may be safely and conueniently provided for and accomodated, and that the sellinge and barteringe of them be left free to his discretion and according to the prices and instrucons he hath here giuen unto him by the Aduenturers, whose unanimous resolution and charge is not to accept of tobacco at 3^s p pound :

Tobacco not to be taken for Goods.

“ Finding besides all former losses that neare 40 thousand waight sent home last yeare for the generall Company and Magazine the better half hath not yeelded viij^d p pound and the rest not aboue ij^s to wch prices there is no possibilitie that they should ariue this next yeare, so that there must be an abatement of the price of tobacco there ; neither can we yeeld (wch is by some Planters propounded) but by the whole company, not only the Aduenturers of the Magazine denied to continue theould rate of 3^s p pound, and to as much in the goods sent hence as the tobacco is esteemed less worth than that rate for although for matter of profit it might go currant much alike, yet thereby we should soe mantaine the collony in their ouerweening esteeme of their darlinge Tobacco, to the ouerthrow

of all other Staple comodities, and likewise to continue the vill will they haue conceiued there and scandalous reports here spread of oppression and exacons from the Company, selling all their Comodities for three times the vallew of what they cost upon which fond and uniust surmises they thinke it lawfull to use all maner of deceit and falshood in their tobacco that they put of [on] the Magazine ;

Frauds in the Tobacco Trade.

“ Which is the next thing wherein we yo^r care and fauo^r being assured from o^r Factor in Holland that except the tobacco that shall next come thence proue to be of more pfection and goodnesse than that was sent home last, there is no hope that it will vent att all, for albeit itt passed once yett the wary buyer will not be againe taken, so that we heartily wish that youe would make some provision for the burninge of all base and rotten stuff, and not suffer any but very good to be cured at least sent home whereby these would certainly be more aduanced in the price upon lesse in the quantity : howsoever we hope that no bad nor ill condiçoned Tobacco shall be by compelling authoritie (abusing its power giuen for publique good to priuate benefitt) putt uppon o^r Factor, and very earnestly desire that he may have the helpe of iustice to constraine men to pay their debts unto him both remaining of the last yeares accompt and what shall this yeare grow dewe, and that in Comodities of the same vallew and goodness as shalbe by him contracted for.

Engrossing Forbidden.

“ The engrossinge of some of the principall Comodities in the last Magazine is here much distasted, as a wrong to

the Stocke to be deprived of their best Commodities at a low rate ; but principally to the whole Collony who were hereby made to pay dearer and forced to take other Commodities that they needed not. These disorders we point out and are so long and earnest in this bussiness of the Magazine not out of the priuate interest wch some of us haue therein but out of a true and sincere care and zeale of the general good of the Plantation, wch we are assured will receiue notable aduancement by a good and speedy returne, for that will much help if it come to the fitt markett of this stok now aduentured, the good pceed whereof will encourage and confirme the good minds of the ould Aduenturers by many losses almost beaten out and draw in many new into the Company, and wch most of all phapps concerns the collony, establish a constant and large trade with them, whereby not only all their wants but all their desires will be at all times plentifully furnished ; but on the contrary if this succeed like the former it is in vaine to hope for like suplies from hence : for want whereof if the whole collony fall uppon any calamitie or miserie, theirs be the shame and guilt whose fault it is ; as for us it will be our comforts neither to haue failed in abundance of charitie hitherto, nor in timely aduise and warnninge now giuen.

Thirty-eight Maids and young Women shipped.

“By this Shipp and Pinace called the Tyger, we also send as many maids and young women as will make upp the number of fiftie, wth those twelue formerly sent in the the Marmaduk, w^{ch} we hope shalbe receiued wth the same Christian pietie and charitie as they were sent from hence; the providinge for them at their first landing and dispos-

inge of them in marriage, (wch is o^r cheife intent), we leaue to yo^r care and wisdome, to take that order as may most conduce to their good, and sattisfac^on of the Aduen-venturers, for the charges disbursed in settinge them forth, wch coming to twelue pounds and upwards, they require one hundred and fiftie of the best leafe tobacco for each of them; and if any of them dye there must be a proportion-able addition uppon the rest; this increase of thirty pounds weight since those sent in the Marmaduke, they have resolved to make, finding the great shrinkage and other losses, upon the tobacco from Virginia will not beare lesse, wch tobacco as it shalbe receiued, we desire may be deliuered to M^r Ed. Blany, who is to keepe thereof a pticu-
lar accompt.

Great Care in the Selection of the Girls.

“We haue used extraordinary care and dilligence in the choise of them, and haue receiued none of whom we haue not had good testimony of their honest life and cariadge, wch together wth their names, we send there inclosed for the sattisfaction of such as shall marry them; for whose further encoradgement we desire you to giue pub-lique notice that the next spring we purpose to send ouer as many youths for apprentices to those that shall now marry any of them and make us due sattisfac^on.

Liberty in Marriage, allowed.

This and their owne good deserts together with yo^r fauo^r and care, will, we hope, marry them all unto honest and sufficient men, whose meanes will reach to present re-pay-ment; but if any of them shall unwarily or fondly bestow herself (for the liberty of marriadge we dare not infringe)

uppon such as shall not be able to giue present sattisfaction, we desire that at least as soon as abillity shalbe, they be compelled to pay the true quantity of tobacco proportioned, and that this debt may haue pcedence of all others to be recouered.

Good Masters to be provided for the Unmarried.

“ For the rest, wch we hope will not be many, we desire yo^r best furtherance for prouiding them fitting seruices till they may hapne uppon good matches, and are here perswaded by many old Planters that there will be maisters enow found there, who will readily lay down what charges shall be required, uppon assurance of repayment at their mariadges, wch as iust and reasonable we desire may be giuen them. But this and many other things in this bussiness we must referr to yo^r good consideracons and fruittful endeauors in opeinge a work begun here out of piettie and tending so much to the benifitt of the Plantation shall not miscarry for any want of good will or care on yo^r part.”

Martin's Hundred re-organized.

“ The Society of Martin's Hundred whose designes by many misfortunes, as well here as in Virginia have been hitherto checked, do now againe go forward cherefully ; sending a supplie of people largely furnished with all necessarie prouisions : the succoring and cherishing of them and their proceedings we in effectual man^r recomends wth yo^r desiringe you to be by all possible fauors aiding and assisting them, and in particular of the Inhabitants of Wolsten-Holmes Towne, their old tenants shall unkindly refuse to entertaine for a while the new comers in their

howses ; we desire that by yo^r command they may billited amongst them, and they compelled to be charitable and bounden in dutie ; as likewise if they shall use any auersness or remissniss in the deliuary of such cattle as by the Aduenturers is here ordered, we desire you by your authoritie to make the deccision, and not to permitt the people now sent to suffer any preiudice at all for the want of them. The command and our sight of these people they haue comitted to Mr Richard Keane now in Virginia.

•
Rev. Thomas White.

“The company is by diuers waies informed that there is a great want of worthie ministers in Virginia therefore they have entertained and now send along M^r Thomas White¹ a man of good sufficiencie for learning and recommended for integritie and uprightnes of life and of so good zeale to the Plantation that he is content to go wth that small allowance the Companie’s stock is able now to aford him, and to put himself uppon such preferment there as he shall deserue, and you shalbe able to accomodate him with, wch if it be of the places belonging to the Company we have promised him here an addiçon to the small allowance he hath now receiued ; now and likewise that y^r godly care and wisdomes will provide for him in some competent maner till he may be furnished with the full number of

¹ A Rev. Mr. White was censured by Mr. Harvey, because he could show no orders. It is probable that he identified himself with the new Maryland colony, which was largely protestant, and he may have been the Mr. Thomas White, who in 1639, united in marriage John Hollis and Restituta Tue, of Maryland. A Thomas White also gives some testimony relative to Jerome Hawley’s will. Andrew White was the name of the pioneer jesuit in Maryland.

tenets belonging to the Ministrie; wch for him and all others shall we hope in the beginninge of the Spring be accomplished. If he finds entertainment from any priuate hundred; then we shall expect from them the restitution of o^r charges, that is six pounds for his passage, and eight pounds deliuered him towards the making of some prouisions, as for bookes, we doubt not but you will be able to supplie them out of the libraries of so many that haue died.

Sundry Directions.

“There are two French youths now sent to Capt. Tho. Nuce, part of those ten promised him the next Springe; this anticipation, although in a very difficult time, for want of mony, we haue yeelded unto, upon S^r John Danuers his motion, that Capt Nuce might be so much pleased. Wee send likewise one Miles Prickett to be employed in the Companies seruice and especially in making of Salt, wch we are informed he heretofore practised in Virginia, he is to serue till Allhollantide in the year 1622, without any reward at all, wch is here beforehand paid him by his passage and apparrell giuen him.

“The releases of diuers persons here graunted we pray you to make good the Condiçons seuerally specified, as also to giue yo^r best furtherance for the accomplishment of all such bussiness as by pticuler letters or pettiçons under-written are recomended unto you for the Counsell and Company whose last and ioynt request is in the behalf of Cap^t Guy and the Maister of the Warwick that uppon the good pformance of their voidage as well as kindly usinge and cherishinge the Passengers, as safely deliuering all their goods they may be dispatched from Virginia; and

what their necessities shall require may speedily and courteously be supplied; and if you send any goods home in this Shipp or any other we pray you to take bond for the deliery of the same; and giue them orders to stay at the Ile of Wight or the Downes wth out breakinge bulke, till they receiue direccon from hence at what Port they shall unlade at. And so wishing a happy beginninge and prosperous successe in all yo^r waightie affairs we at p^{se}nt betake you and the whole Colony and yo^r charge to the blessing of God Almightye: and rest

“Yo^r assured Louing frends.

“EDWARD HAWLEY JO: WOLSTENHOLME
 THEODORE GULSTON THO: GIBBS
 JO: FERRAR~~Y~~ Deputie THO: WINSTON
 ROBERT SMITH NICH: FERRAR~~Y~~ /r
 FRAN. ANTHONY THO: SHEP~~ERD~~.

“London the 11th

“September, 1621.

“Postcript.

“In case M^r Blaney dye, we desire M^r Pountis in p^{ti}cular to take care of his bussiness.”

EDWARD BENNETT COMMENDED.

Oct. 24. “The first patent was for a gentleman that had deserued singularly well of the Company before hee was a member thereof. And since his admittance hee had been att a verie great charge for transportinge of people to Virginia namely Mr. Bennett who now ioynes himselfe in this

buisines with Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Ayers and diuers others their associates.

REV. MR. STAPLES.

“Mr Chamberlayne recomended unto the Company one Mr. Staples a preacher who hauinge a brother in Virginia that had giuen him good encouragement to come hither was desirous to goe ouer : wheruppon some of Martins Hundred seemed to be willinge to entertaine him for their hundred.

THE EAST INDIA SCHOOL.

“October 24, 1621, Mr. Deputy acquainted the Courte that one Mr. Copeland,¹ a mynister lately returned from the East Indies, out of an earnest desire to giue some furtherance unto the plantacon in Virginia, had been pleased, as well by his owne good example as by psuasion, to stir upp many that came with him in the Ship called the

¹ The Rev. Patrick Copland, or Copeland, in 1613 went to Surat. The next year he sent to England a native lad he had taught to read and write, “to be instructed in religion, that hereafter he may be sent home to convert some of his nation.” On July 18, 1615, letters were read at a meeting of the East India Company from Copeland, asking that steps might be taken “for the baptism of the lad who appears now to be in the East, being of opinion that it was fit to have it publicly effected, being the first fruits of India.”

Copeland, a few days before the news of the massacre in Virginia reached England, was appointed Rector of the intended College for the conversion of Indian youth at Henrico, but he did not accept, and remained in England until after the dissolution of the Company. After this his intimate friend Nicholas Ferrar, late Deputy of the Company, paid the £300 left by his father for a college for Indians to the Somers Island Company, upon condition that they would always educate three Virginia Indian children,

Royall James to contribute towards some good worke to be begunn in Virginia, insomuch that hee hadd pured allredy a matter of some 70li to be imployed that waie, and had allso writt from Cape Bona Speranza to diuers Factors in the East Indies to moue them to some charitable contribucon thereunto. So, as hee hoped, they would see uery shortlie his letters would produce some good effect among them, especially if hee might understand in what manner they intended to imploy the same. Itt was therfore ordered that a Committee should be appoynted to treat with Mr. Copeland about itt. And forasmuch as hee had so well deserued of the Company by his extraordinary care and paynes in this business, itt was thought fitt and ordered that he should be admitted a free Brother of this Company, and att the next Quarter Courte itt should be moued that some proporcon of land might be bestowed uppon him in gratificacon of his worthie endeauors to aduance this intended worke ; and further, itt was thought

and when of proper age put them in business or send them back to convert their relatives.

33-3 / To carry out this scheme, Copeland appears to have gone to the Somers Islands. In 1678 Rev. Hugh Peters then at Salem, Mass., corresponded with him, as he had become an ardent nonconformist. When nearly eighty years of age, about 1637, went with Governor Sayle to Eleuthera, one of the Bahamas, to found a colony where there should be freedom of conscience, and a separation of the church from the secular authority. 116
Soon after this Sayle visited the Puritans of James River, whose pastor was Rev. Thos. Harrison, and had been, until he became a nonconformist, Governor Berkeley's chaplain, and invited them to emigrate to the new plantation. They declined, but a portion of them moved to the vicinity of Annapolis, Maryland, and was instrumental in securing the celebrated Act of Toleration passed by the Assembly of that Province in 1648. The time of Copeland's death has not been ascertained.

fitt, allso to add him to the number of some other speciall Benefactors unto the plantaçon whose memoriall is preserved. The Committee to treat with him are these: Mr. Deputy, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Nicho. Ferrar, Mr. Bamforde, Mr. Abra. Chamberlyne, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Ayers."

DISPOSITION OF THE COPELAND DONATION.

"On the last of October, 1621, Mr. Deputy signified that, forsomuch as it was reserued unto the Companie to determine whither the said money should be imploied towards the buildinge of a church or a schoole, as afore-said, the Comittee appointed haue had conference with Mr. Copland about it, and do hold it fitt, for many important reasons, to imploye the said contribuçon towards the erecçon of a publique free schoole in Virginia, towards wch an unknowne person hath likewise giuen 30li, as may appeare by the Report of the said Comittee, now presented to be read.

"At a meetinge of the Comittee on Tuesday, the 30th of Octob, 1621, present Mr. Deputy, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Wrote, Mr. Ayres, Mr. Nicholas Farrar, Mr. Roberts.

"The said Comittee meetinge this Afternoone to treat with Mr. Copland touchinge the dispose of the money giuen by some of the East Indy Companie that came with him in the Royall James, to be bestowed upon some good worke for the benefit of the plantaçon in Virginia; the said Mr. Copland beinge now present did deliuer in a note the names of those that had freely and willingly contributed their moneyes hereunto, wch moneyes Mr. Copland said they desired might be employed towards the buildinge either of a Church or Schoole in Virginia, which the Companie should think fitt. And that although this some of

money was but a small proporcion to pforme so great a worke, yet Mr. Copland said he doubted not but to psuade the East Indy Companie whome he meant to sollicite, to make some addiçon thereunto, besides he said that he had uery effectually writt the coppie of wch letter he showed and was read to diuers ffactories in the East Indies to stirr them up to the like contribuçon towards the pformance of this pious worke as they had already donne for the buildinge of a church at Wappinge, where by his Report, they haue giuen about 400li.

“It beinge, therefore, nowe taken into consideraçon whither a Church or a Schoole was most necessarie, and might nearest agree to the intençons of the Donors : It was conceaued that forsomuch as each pticular plantaçon, as well as the generall, either had or ought to haue a Church appropriated unto them, there was therefore a greater want of a Schoole than of Churches :

“As also for that it was impossible, with so small a proporcion, to compasse so great a charge as the buildinge of a Church would require, they therefore conceaued it most fitt to resoluè for the erectinge of a publike free schoole, wch, being for the educaçon of Children and groundinge of them in the principles of religion. Ciuility of life and humane learninge seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantaçons as that whereof both Church and Comon wealth take their originall foundaçon and happie estate, this beinge also like to proue a work most acceptable unto the Planters, through want whereof they haue bin hitherto constrained to their great costs to send their Children from thence hither to be taught.

“Secondly It was thought fitt that this schoole should be placed in one of the fower Citties and they conceaued that Charles City, of the fower did affoord the most convenient place for that purpose as well in respect it matcheth with the best in holesomeness of Aire, as also for the comodious situaçon thereof, being not farr distant from Henrico and other particular plantaçons.

“It was also thought fitt that in hono^r of the East Indy Benefactors, the same should be called the East Indy Schoole, who shall haue precedence before any other to preferr their Children thither to be brought up in the rudiments of learninge ;

“It was also thought fitt that this, as a Collegiate or free schoole, should haue dependance upon the Colledge in Virginia wch should be made capable to receaue Schollers from the schoole into such Scollershipps and fellowships of said Colledge shall be endowed withall for the aduancement of schollers as they arise by degrees and deserts in learninge.

“That for the better mayntenance of the scholm^r and usher intended there to be placed it was thought fitt that it should be moued at the next Quarter Co^t that 1000 acres of Land should be allotted unto the said Scoll^o, and that 5 p^{rs}ons, besides an ouerseer of them should be forthwith sent upon this charge, in the condicōn of Apprentises, to manure and cultiuate the said land, and that, ouer and aboue this allowance of land and tenants unto the schoolm^r, such as send their children to this schoole should giue some benevolence unto the schoolm^r, for the better encrease of his mayntenance.

“That it should be specially recomended to the Go-uernor to take care that the planters there be stirred up

to put their helping hands towards the speedy buildinge of the said schoole, in respect their Children are like to receaue the greatest benefitt thereby in their educacon: and to let them knowe that those that exceed others in their bounty and Assistance hereunto shal be priuiledged with the preferment of their Children to the said schoole before others that shall be found less worthie.

“It is likewise thought fitt that a good schoolm^r be prouided forthwith to be sent unto this scoole.

“It was also informed by a gentleman of this Committee that he knew one that desired not to be named that would bestowe 30li, to be added to the former some of 70li to make it an 100li, towards the buildinge of the said schoole :

“This report, being read was well approued of and thought fitt to be referred for confirmation to the next Quarter Court.”

The Quarter Court on 19th of November approved the report, and granted Mr. Copeland three hundred acres of land. On January 28, 1621-2, that he had found an usher for the free school, but on Feb. 27, he told the Company that the proposed usher had become unwilling to go unless he had the title of master. On 13th of March it was agreed that Mr. Dike, if he would go and prove competent, should be recognized as Master of the Free School intended at Charles City. He after this declined the appointment, and the colonial authorities were empowered to select an usher or schoolmaster. In June, 1625, the Governor and Council of Virginia, wrote :

“We should be ready with our utmost endeavors to assist the pious work of the East India free school, but we must not dissemble that, besides the unseasonable

arrival, we thought the acts of Mr. Caroloff will overbalance all his other sufficiency though exceeding good."

After this there is no statement relative to this school, and it was probably never erected.

ANTHONY GOSNOLD, EARLY PLANTER.

October 31. "Upon the humble petiçon of Mr. Anthony Gosnold¹ gentleman it is agreed and ordered first that he shall haue two shares of land in Virginia, due unto him for the aduventure of 25^ld in money paid into the Treasury to S^r Thomas Smith as by his bill now shewed by him in Court under the Companys' Seale though it were not sett downe in the printed booke, may appeare.

"And secondly that he shall haue one share of land more wch of right also belongeth unto him for his psonall Aduventure to Virginia some 16 yeares since upon his owne charge.

"Thirdly whereas the said Mr. Gosnold alledgeth he had two kinsmen that died longe since seized of land in Virginia who by their last will gaue him their said land: It is likewise orderd that it shalbe recomended to the Gouvernor to take order that upon due proufe made thereof, he do him iustice, Lastly touchinge the merritt of his pson in regard of his longe and hard service for many yeares together in the condiçon of a seruant, notwithstandinge he ought to haue bin free: The Court hath referred him to the Com-

¹ Among those who landed at Jamestown in 1607 were Capt. Barth: Gosnold, who died August 22d; Anthony Gosnold his brother; and Anthony his son and nephew. The petitioner was probably the last.

ittee appointed for rewardinge men upon their good deseruings.

"It being likewise moued that forsomuch as diuers worthie gent: desired to be Mr. Gosnolds Associates intendinge at their owne charge to transport 100 psons to Virginia there to plant and inhabite that therefore the said Mr. Gosnold might have a Patent for pticular plantaçon wch was accordingly graunted and ordered to be drawne up against the next Quarter Courte.

BOOK ON SILK WORMS.

"Mr. Deputie informed the Companie of the great paines that Mr. Bonnell the Frenchman, m^r of the Kings Silkwormes at Oakland had taken in penninge a Treatise in French concerninge the orderinge of Silkwormes and makinge of silk wch treatise for that it might be of speciall use unto the Planters in Virginia, he therefore moued this Court would please to recomend it, to some to translate it into English and afterward that it might be prped and beinge approued it might be printed, wch the Court assented unto, and praid M^r Deputy to see it donne, and that a good number of the said Booke might be sent unto the Colony in Virginia by the next Shippe that goes.

WIDOW SMALLEY.

"Elizabeth Smalley¹ widdowe hauinge petiçioned to the Kinge against Captaine Argall pretendinge that he deteyned

¹ Probably the widow of Captain Smalley in command at Henrico in 1616. In the year 1624 she was living in New England.

certain goods from her to the value of 500^l^d and being referred by his Ma^{ty} to his Highnes Counsell for Virginia did now peti^{ti}on to the Companie to take hearinge of the said cause accordinge to his Ma^{ty}s Referrence whereupon the Counsell agreed to meete upon friday followinge in the Afternoone about two of the Clocke at Mr. ffarrars house against wch time order is now giuen for warninge both the said Widdowe Smalley and Capt. Argall to make their appearance as also all such witnesses as could be pduced on the behalf of the said complaynant.

REV. ROBERT STAPLES.

“Mr. Robert Staples a Minister comended much by M^r Abraham Chamberlin and by certificate from many diuines resident in this Citty reportinge him to be of honest conuersa^{ti}on and a good Scholler : beinge desirous to goe to Virginia did nowe make request, that the Companie would please to entertaine him for their Minister there.

“But the Companie wantinge meanes to furnish him out did moue that some of the pticular planta^{ti}ons would imploy him.

Whereupon M^r Darnelly signified that he thought that they of Martins Hundred wanted a Minister to whome he was recomended.

DONATION FOR AN ANNUAL SERMON.

“At a Court held for Virginia, the 14th of Nouember, 1621.

“M^r Deputy acquainted the Companie that at the end of the last Sumer Ilands Court, held the seventh of this

present moneth there came a letter into his hands from an unknowne person directed unto him and the rest of the Counsell and Comp^a for Virginia, wch letter for that many of the Virginia Comp^a were then psent, he caused to be opened and read, the Contents whereof are as following.

“ ‘A Letter dated the 7^o of Nouember, 1621, directed to M^r Deputy ffarrar, and to the rest of the Counsel and Companie for Virginia.

“ ‘You shall receaue here enclosed 40^s for a sermon to be preached before the Virginia Companie this Michalemas Terme and before the Quarter Court day : The place I leaue to y^e Companie’s appointment, Also I desire that M^r Dauenport may preach the first sermon if the Companie approue hereof : I will, if God permit, make a perpetuity in this kinde : So beseeching your good acceptance of this small mite, as also that you Mr Deputy performe yo^r promise in concealinge my name, I take my leaue and rest a daylie orator for Virginia.’

“ This letter beinge read, and the Companie then present demanded on what day they would haue this sermon preached, it was then agreed to haue it upon this day before the Virginia Companie, and after sermon it was also upon mo^on agreed to suppe together, M^r Gibbs beinge entreated to giue notice hereof to M^r Dauenport accordingly.

“ Nowe forsomuch as it further appeareth by the said Letter that the Author of this Guift hath promised upon the Companie’s good acceptance hereof to make opportunity of this kinde, M^r Deputy therefore moued that this Court would please to recomend it to the next Quarter Court to appoint on what daye hereafter this yearely exercise shalbe pformed, wch mo^on the Court did well approue

of and accordingly referred it to the iudgment of the Quarter Court to order it, and in the meane time entreated M^r Deputy who knewe the gentleman, to signifie the Companies especyall thanks unto him.

QUARTER COURT.

Nov. 21. " It beinge formerly ordered by the Preparative Court that in regard of the many buissinesses that were to be dispatched this daye the Court should begin in the forenoon to examine such patents as were appointed to be made ready against this Court as also such comissions as were to be graunted to M^{rs} of Shipps to ffish and trade, the said patents and also the drafte of the Comissions beinge nowe presented to this court were read and after examination beinge put to y^e question were well approued of.

" The Patents were these vitz :

" Patent to

Arthur Swaine, pr for plantinge of 100 psons			
Rowland Truloue pr	"	"	100
John Crowe pr	"	"	100
Mr. Edw. Ryder	"	"	100
Mr. Symond Leeke	"	"	100
Daniell Gookin	"	"	300
M ^r Edw: Bennett	"	"	100
S ^r Charles North	"	"	100
M ^r Levinge	"	"	100

Aduenturers.

Planters.

" The Comissions granted for ffishinge and trade were these vitz :

Jo : Hudleston	M ^r of the Bona Noua of	200 tun.
Tho: Smith	M ^r of the Hopewell of	60 tun.
Daniel Gale	M ^r of the Darlinge of	40 tun.
Capt Tho Jones	M ^r of the Discouery of	60 tun.

ROLL FOR SENDING MAIDS TO VIRGINIA.

“The Third Roll was for sendinge of Mayds to Virginia to be made Wyues, wch the Planters there did verie much desire, by the want of whome haue sprunge the greatest hinderances of the encrease of the Plantacon, in that most of them esteeming Virginia not as a place of Habitacon but onely of a short soiourninge haue applyed themselves and their labors wholly to the raisinge of present proffitt and utterly neglected not only staple comodities but euen the verie necessaries of man’s life, in regard whereof and to preuent so great an inconuenience hereafter whereby the Planters minds may be the faster tyed to Virginia by the bonds of Wyues and Children care hath bin taken to prouide them younge, handsome and honestly educated mayds whereof 60 are already sent to Virginia, being such as were specially recomended unto the Companie for their good bringinge up by their parents or friends of good worth: wch mayds are to be disposed in marriage to the most honest and industrious planters who are to defraye and satisfie to the Adventurers the charges of their passages and prouisions at such rate as they and the Aduenturers Agents there shall agree, and in case any of them faile through mortality it is ordered that a proporconable addicon shalbe made upon the rest, In the furtherance of such Christian Acccon diuers of the said Aduenturers had underwritt diuers good somes of money none under 8^l whereby the whole some of that Roll did already amount to 800^l as may appeare by the subscriptions.

FUR TRADE IN RIVERS DELAWARE AND HUDSON.

"The Fourth Roll was intended for a most certaine and beneficial trade of Furre to be had wth the Indians in Virginia in the lymitts of the Southerne Colony, it being credibly informed both by letters from the Gouvernor and Counsell of State in Virginia as also by relaçon of others of the greate Trade of Furrs wch is yeerly made by the French and Duch Shippes in a verie great proporçon in DeLawarr and Hudsons Riuer beinge not aboue 30 or 50 leagues distant from the Plantation and for that there is at this present so good an oportunity offered for the cheape and safe managing of the said Trade it hath moued many of the former Aduenturers to subscribe unto this Roll, Also wherein it is so ordered that none shall subscribe aboue 100^{ld} nor any man for lesse than 20^{ld}. whereof onely a Third part for the present voyadge is to be employed in wch Roll there is already underwritten the Some of 900^{ld}, wch shippe is also departed.¹

COMPANY'S LETTER DATED NOV. 26, 1621, TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA.

"After o^r verie hartie comendaçons. Our last unto you were by y^e Warwick and Tyger wch departed hence about the midle of September with a magazine of 2000^{ld} under the hands of M^r Blany, and about fiftie maids wch we hope are long ere this safely ariued with you, we were then so ample in our aduices concerninge the orderinge of those supplies as we shall not need at psent to enlarge any

¹ The Discovery, Capt. Jones.

thing concerning them further than with all earnestness to desire y^r serious cares and uttermost endeauors for the accomplishinge of things in such maner as they were then recomended unto you wch will not only be here of us and the Company very gratefully accepted as a pledge from yo^rselues in the Collony of that mutual good-will and respect wch o^r affectionate loue and zealous care of their welfare doth deserue; but undoubtedlie produce many great matters highly to the benefitt and aduancement of the Plantation; for what may you not expect that iust and fair pformance of things will bring to passe, when the expectation only and the confidence thereof haue done so much and caused so many kinds of Aduenturers, one whereof and one of the principall is the trade of Furrs now by the Discouerie to be attempted.

The Trade for Furs.

“ And we hope by Gods blessing shalbe happilie effected if yo^r serious cares and endeuors be bestowed thereuppon; wch although we nothing doubt of in a matter of so great hono^r and exceeding profitt to the Collony as this is like to be, and whereunto we haue so often and earnestly been by them merited: yet we cannot but againe and againe desire you to giue all fauo^r and assistance thereunto, and that in all earnest and effectual maner.

Ordinance to be furnished the Discovery.

“ The hope of Silkeworme seed whereof we are yett disappointed hath kept the Shipp longer than we meant, and later than phapps were fitt for the two voidages she is to be imployed, that neither of them therefore may miscarrie we pray you to take order, that she may with all expediçon

proceed in the Furr voiadge, and not to suffer any time to be lost, either by default of the Marriners (if they should be negligent) or for want of such supplies as they are to receiue from you. The Aduenturers of Southampton hundred (who out of a noble disposition to forward the buissines haue with great chargunder took it thus in their Shipp) haue very abundantly provided her with all things necessarie; yet if there be any thing whereby shee may be strengthened or accomodated we desire you to furnish her there with and in pticular that you lett them the brasse peeces wch were sent in the Charles.

Interpreters to be Employed.

“If likewise the Shippes Company shall seeme too weake we desire you to make supplie out of the Collony of such men as are most fitt, and in especiall that you putt in two or three skilfull in the languages and maners of the Indians, and expert in those places, wherein the trade is to be, that serue for guides and interpreters.

“The Aduenturers had purposed to haue sent some quantities of beanes and pease for tradę but the Shippes rowl the ordinarie calamitie of Virginia voiadges proues to strait, and they haue been further informed that those graines are not so acceptable as the Virginia mast: wherefore we desire you to furnish them with such quantities of maze as they shall need, and likewise with whatever else may be to the furtherance of the accon. In wch whatsoeuer persons shalbe employed, the Aduenturers are willinge that a due satisfaction may be made them.

Instructions to Capt. Jones.

“They haue desired us to send you both the Inuoyces of their goods and the Coppies of the Instruções wch they

haue giuen unto Capt Jones, whereby they may pereiuie how much they relie uppon yo^r Counsell and assistance, wch as well for theire owne sakes (that so much deserues, as also for ours that so earnestly intreat you), we assure them will not be wanting.

Special Request to Gov. Wyatt and others.

“And especially we intreat you S^r Francis Wyatt as Gouvernor, and S^r George Yeardley and M^r Pountis whose experience in the countrie and interest in the bussines are greatest, to be most particularly careful and solicitous thereof, that things may be so contriued with judgment, and ordered with wisdome, as not only the present voyadge may proue successful, but a future trade be established. We desire you to esteem it as indeed it is, though undtaken by priuate men yet a very generall and publike bussiness, so we conceue it, and in that regard haue thought good to comend it unto you in this letter: Of other matters the Bona Noua and Hopewell will certifie you. And so with humble prayers to God Almighty to protect and guide you in all your affaires, we rest

Yo^r very louing frends

LO. PAGET,	LO. TUSTON,	LO. CARY
EARLE OF WARWICK,	S ^r JOHN DAUERS,	NICHO. HIDE
THEODORE GULSTON,	SAMUEL WROTE,	FRANCIS ANTHONY
JOHN FERRAR,	NICHOLAS FERRAR,	JOHN DELBRIDGE

“London 26th

“November, 1621.

To o^r verie Lo: frend S^r Francis Wyatt, Gounor and Capt Generall of Virginia, and the rest of the Counsell of State there residinge.

COMPANY'S LETTER, DATED DEC. 5, 1621, TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA.

"After o^r very hartie Comendaçons. Wee writ unto you very lately by the Discouerie whereof Capt Thomas Jones went Maister: we haue since receiued certained advice that there are newly gon from Amsterdam for the same trade of ffurrs, and the self same places two Small Pinaces the one of 40 Tunns with fowre, and the other of 80 Tunns wth six peece of cast ordinance double manned, and exceedingly well provided wth comodities: wherefore it will very much import that the Discouerie be instantly expedited from Virginia, wth those necessarie supplies of men and prouisions that we have entreated you to furnish her wth, that she may not come either to weak or to late, or any way unfitt for the p^rformance of her bussiness; for the p^rticularities whereof we refer you to o^r former letters, the copies whereof we here inclosed send you. Now we only in the most effectuall maner that we may againe recomend it to yo^r most serious cares and zealous furtherance.

Returns for the Maids sent.

For the supplies of the Magazine and Maids formerly sent in the Marmaduke, Warwick and Tyger; we assure o^rselues things are in that forwardnes of a good returne (through yo^r prudent cares and fauo^{rs}) as we haue more cause to giue you hartie thanks than need to intreat yo^r assistance therein; yett because no diligence in so waightie matters can be thought superfluous, we haue at the entreatie of the Aduenturers, here inclosed sent you the copie of that dispatch, to reueiue things in yo^r memorie,

and thereto do now againe adioyne o' most earnest in-
treaties for yo^r and iust fauo^r, till the full accomplishing
of all those businesses in such manner as is desired, and
indeed deserved, by such free and worthie minds as those
Aduenturers moue from. Wee will not recapitulate what
wee haue amply in o' former letters expressed how iust
and necessarie it is (the Companies stock being utterly ex-
hausted, and no meanes of supply but from priuate purses)
that a good and profitable accompt should be returned of
these many Aduenturers; we will only add (wch to gene-
rous minds is of no small force) that by yo^r wise cares
and iust fauo^r it is expected; and in that confidence, but
principally out of a singular zeale to aduance the Planta-
cion, and accomodate the Planters, although the Aduen-
turers alreadie sent haue been so many and so large; as
o'selues cannot but wonder, yet haue the selfsame persons
newly underwritt nere a thousand pounds for the sending
of Shippwrights and house carpenters.

Supply to be sent.

“And so farr is the busines alreadie proceeded in, as
we may assure you and yoⁿ, the Collony, that by God's
blessing they shall by the end of Aprill at the furthest
haue this necessarie supply among them: In the mean-
space wee desire that fitt preperations may be made for
the entertaining of them, that shall after make prepara-
tion for others: In wch regard we giue yoⁿ this timely
notice; and also that you might be ptakers with us of the
comfort and encoragement, wch we dayly receiue by the
continuance and increase of those free and worthie Aduen-
turers, wherein we wth all thankfull humilitie do acknowl-
edge the gracious Prouidence of God in so much enlargeinge

(uppon the failinge of the publique reuenues) the hearts of priuate men, in a verie difficult time, and after so many unfortunate Aduentures made in the like kind, to pforme these great works so aduantageable and necessarie unto the Plantation.

Free School.

“ There is one thing likewise that hath lately hapned unto us, not great in itself but of great good hope; the gentleman and Mariners of the Royall James belonging to the East India Company, being mett at Cap Bona Speranza by some English Shippes outward bound, and certified of the prosperitie of Virginia, did there (uppon the exhortation of M^r Copland theire Minister) bestow the sume of 70^{li} towards the buildinge of a freë schoole in Virginia; wch pious guift hath lately receiued an addicōn of 30^{li} by an unknowne pson. The maner of employeing the mony wch the Company hath resolved uppon, we send you here inclosed, desiringe that you would likewise take it into yo^r considerations.

Salt, Iron Works, and Mills to be built.

“ Wee likewise send you the copies of some Courts whereby you shall understand what hath lately passed concerninge the bringinge in of all o^r Tobacco, wch we doubt not but yo^u haue and shall heare of by many waies; otherwise we should haue been loth to mingle any thing unpleasant amongst so much ioyfull and comfortable as we haue before related; but such is the composition of all worldly affaires; for o^rselves we are not and desire you likewise not to be discouraged att any difficulties that do or may arise; wch we interprett onely as the tryall of pa-

tience and vertue, whether we be worthie to be the Instruments of so glorious a worke as this Plantation is, so we wish and desire you to continue and go on cheerfully in yo^r waighty charge according to the instruccōns we haue giuen you and in especiall that you use all possible dilligence and industrious care to further and accomplish those great and many designes of Salte, Sawinge Mills and Iron, not letting slipp those occaōns wch phapps will hardly be ever recouered ; nor neglecting the pfectinge of those things wch you haue and euer shall haue a certain necessitie of but an uncertaine assurance of from us : wee desire you therefore very earnestly to endeuor the setting up of those and other staple Comodities, and by example and by pperations to make the whole Collony capable, what necessitie lieth upon them to make a good store within themselves of all usefull comodities rather than a small aduantage of psent profit.

Seeds, Pigeons, Conies, Peacocks, Mastiffs, Bee-hives.

“Wee haue by this Shipp and the Discouerie sent you diuers sorts of seeds and fruit trees as also Pidgeons, Conies, Peacocks, Mastiues and Beehiues, as you shall by the Inuoice perceiue. Wee have sent unto you likewise some vine cuttings and a very small quantitie of Silkworm seed, of both which we had hoped to haue sent you abundance, and in that regard deteined the Discouerie so long ; but of thinges so farr remote we are not absolutely maisters, we are put in howerly expectation thereof. In the meanwhile we pray you that these now sent, and those you formerly had may be improued by the most ; and the skill of the Frenchmen diffused amongst many, though they haue not much matter to exercise it in.

Patents Granted.

“ There haue been nyne seuerall Pattents granted at o^r last Quarter Court, and aboue 1000 people undtaken to be transported by them this next Spring, we desire you therefore that those due prouisions of Guest-houses (so often solicited by us) may be made, and abundance of corn planted to supplie them at fittinge prices in regard that though the great rayse of grayne here, they are like to come slenderly furnished hence.

Passengers to be kindly Treated.

“ And further we comend unto yo^r care and charitie the contentment of those psent Planters that of their first landing they may haue y^{or} best furtherance for the lodgeing them in howses, and also in setting out of theire land in conuenient places together with the best assistance and direcōn in their courses at their first arriual that they may by curteous usage be encoraged to stay with you and others inuited to come unto you ; and amongst these in pticular wee cannot but comend Mr. Copeland three Tenant's he hauing excited that fauor of the Company.

Fortifications.

“ Wee haue diligently laboured but not yett able to effect any thing towards the helpe in the matter of Fortification ; yet are we not of hope not to do something shortly. In the meane while we desire you not to be any thing remisse in whatsoeuer may tend to yo^r saftie to wch no gaine can be comparable, but to be alwaies so prepared as in imminent danger, and especially to supplie with abundance of care and vigilancie, what you want in strength.

Copper.

“The coniectures of the Southwest passage and the peece of Copper wch you sent as wee gladly saw and heard, for since you now begin to discouer the Countrie, and enquire after Comodities we doubt not, but you shall find what you seeke or better: wherefore we earnestly desire you to continue and proceed herein accordinge to yo^r best meanes; and to send us from time to time the cards of such places as you shall discouer; and large quantities of the Comodities you found, for the Sayes of things are not easily nor certainly made in small quantities.

“The plate of Copper holds nothing else but is so pfect good that if it might be gotten with so easie labor as the Indians relate, there were were no mine should equal the riches thereof; that further you have und^rstood thereof we desire by the next yeare, that we may both satisfie o^rselues and others and either begin or leaue so rich a hope.

Ships to be speedily dispatched.

“The last thing we haue at present to write is that those Shipps the Bona Noua and Hopewell both in o^r owne and the Companie’s name may be seriously recomended unto you that they may be speedily dispatched for Virginia, and neither by you deteined, nor suffered themselues to trifle out the time. In wch we especially require the care of M^r Pountis whom in o^r last Quarter Court we haue chosen Vice Admirall and purpose, God willing, with the first opportunitie to estate the place with twelve Tenants. This or whatsoeuer fauor or curtesie you aford unto the Shipps in furtherance of their intended fishinge

voyadges wee pray you effectually to pforme, for so both the undertakers and settlers out of them do deserue at yo^r hands, and the good or ill success of this busines doth very highly import the Collony wch we doubt not but you fully und^rstand :

“ And so we comitt you to the guidance and protection of the Allmightie and rest

“ Yo^r very Louing frends

“ Lo : CAUENDISH, EA of WARWICK

Lo : PADGETT Sr JHN DAUERS

THOS GIBBS

SAM WROTE

NICHO. FERRAR, JOHN FERRAR, Dept

THO SHEAPERD

JOHN SMITH.

“ London this 5th of September

“ 1621”

December 19. “ Mr. Bamfield signified unto the Court of a booke compiled by a painefull schoolm^r, one Mr. John Brinsley : whereupon the Court gaue order that the Companie's thanks should be giuen unto him, and appointed a select Committee to pruse the said Booke, vizt : Sir John Dauers Mr. Deputy Mr. Gibbs Mr. Wrote Mr. Bamfeild Mr. Copland Mr. Ayres and Mr. Nicho : ffarrar. who are entreated to meete when Mr. Deputy shall appoint and after to make report of their opinions touchinge the same at the next Court.

“ At a Court held for Virginia on Wedensday the 16th Janua: 1621 [1622], the Committee appointed to pruse the

booke which Mr. Jo: Brinsley,¹ schoolm^r, presented at the last Court, touchinge the educaçon of the younger sort of schollers, forsomuch as they had yet no time to pruse the same, by reason of many buissinesses that did occurr they desired of the Court some longer respite, wch was graunted unto them. Mr. Copland beinge present was entreated to pruse it in the mean time and deliuer his opinion thereof unto the said Committee at their meetinge about it.²

LETTER OF GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO THE COMPANY,
WRITTEN JANUARY 1621-2, AND FORWARDED BY SHIP GEORGE.

“Right Hono^{ble}

“Wee haue receaued you^r Letter dated at London the 22d of September, 1622, by the Warwicke arriued heare at James Cyttie the 10th day of December, wherein you haue manifested so greate care of us, and the whole Colony

¹ Brinsley was the nephew of Bishop Hall, and his amanuensis at the Synod of Dort. He became an eminent schoolmaster and nonconformist divine, and published numerous sermons and grammatical works.

² In 1622 Brinsley published “A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles; or a faithful and most comfortable encouragement for laying of a sure foundation of a good learning in our schooles, and for prosperous building therefor; more specially for all those of the inferior sort, and all rude countries and places, namely for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer islands, and for their more speedie attaining of our English tongue by the same labour, that all may speake one and the same language. And withall, for the helping of all such as are desirous speedlie to recouer that which they had formerlie got in the grammar schooles; and to proceed aright therein, for the perpetual benefit of these our nations, and of the churches of Christ. London: Printed by Richard Field, for Thomas Mann, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the sign of the Talcot; 1622.”

as we cannott but with all thankfullnes acknowledg our selues much bounden unto you for the same, before the receipt of wch Letter wee had (accordinge to the instructions giuen us) taken order in the firste Sessions of the generall Assemblie, helde in Nouember and December, that great store of Vines and Mulberry trees should be planted in all places, and such as were growinge preserued and had expresly phibited the destroyinge of mulberry trees in the clearing of Growndes.

Att wch Assemblie we did playnly prceauē that the whole country was very well affected to the plantinge of both and to the receauing of silk-worme foode, and that y^t is our earnest desire that you woulde be pleased to proceed in this course, and of sending us all sortes of Vines in greate abundance, as alsoe greate store of all sortes of the best graine, as wheate, Barlie, Oates, and pease of all the best kindes, for though wee bee very desirous to falle to the sowinge of all sorts of our English graine as well as Indian (since this Countrey is very pper for them, and that there so much cleare grounde in the Colonie) wherein a plowe may be able to goe yet are wee at this tyme very much unprovided of any good seed corne, for our wheate wch was firste brought hither from the French Colonie is not only of a small and bad kinde, but hath been also much decayed (since it came hither) for wante of well cultivatinge the grounde.

Want of Seed.

“As for Barlie, oates, and the best Pease there is either none or a very small quantitie of any of them in the Countrey. And to y^e ende that w^t graine or seed soeuer you shall be pleased to send us ouer: may be in the more

likelihood to prosper when it cometh hither, wee desire that a care may bee taken that the Wheate and Barlie may be brought in the chaffe. And that such corne or seeds as you shall sende may bee noe older than of the harvest next precedinge, And that they may nott bee stoude in the holde butt betweane the Decks, for y^t the heate of the holde will spoyle whatt corne or seede soe uer you shall sende.

Ship in the Autumn and by the Northern Course.

“And wee doe conceaue it to be very fitt that what Shippes shall bringe such things be appoynted to come the Northerne course, and to sett saile at such a tyme as they may in all likelihood ariue here about September or October wch tyme and coorse wee holde to bee the most healthfull for the cominge in of Passengers, and therefore could wishe that as fewe be sent hither in the Springe of the yeere as may bee seeinge y^t of those Shippes wch ariued here this Autum, there hath not died one passenger by the way, and haue hitherto had their healthes since their Landinge.

The Tiger taken by the Turks.

“Wee haue receaued all such Prouisioness as were in those Shippes sent to the Dutch and Frenchmen saue onely the Cloath sent to make them Apparell, wch we feare was lost in the Tiger taken by the Turks since wee can by no meanes heare thereof.

Thanks for the Magazine.

“Wee canott but giue condigne thanks for sendinge hither this Magasene soe well furnished to wch wee shall to the uttermost of our powers bee ayinge and assistinge in all things wee may, that by the pfitable returne thereof the Aduenturers may be Encoraged to goe on cherfullie in this course, and so establish with us here constant, large and continuall Trade from tyme to tyme onely wee are sorrie that y^t ariued heere soe late, that the most of this year's Tobacco was otherwise disposed of before, but we are perswaded yf Mr. Blanye bee faire to trust forth any of his Comodities hee will be no loser therby, by reason that the next years Tobacco cannott, butt in all liekelihood (by the coorse we haue taken) be very much improued.

Price of Tobacco.

“It is a thinge very well liked of here that you haue left the Price of Tobacco at libertie since that it is of such an uncertaine valew by reason of the great difference thereof.

“And howsoeuer much of the Tobacco of the last cropp hath not proued very good of the unseasonableness of the Yeere and of the wante of tyme for the curinge wee desire that noe president may be made thereof, Espeyciallie of that by the Maryners, whose beinge of badd as well as good wee could nott But haue taken order as much as in us Lyeth to preuent this to come :

Arrival of the Maids.

Wee haue taken as great care as possible wee coulede without any prouisione at all for the well disposinge of the maides sent in and the Warwick and could wish that the next supplie of may bring some small pvisione with them to helpe them until they may be conuenientlie disposed of.

“The people of Martins hundred (as we are informed by Mr. Harwood) doe willinglie and louinglie receaue the new comers who also shall have from us all lawfull aide and assistance in all things.

Want of Clergymen.

“The Information giuen you of the wante of wourthie ministers heere is very trew, and therefore wee must giue you greate thanks for sendinge ouer Mr. Thomas White, who we hope shall be accomodated to his good likinge, soe y^t is our earnest request that you woulde be pleased to send us ouer many more learned and sincere Ministers (of wch there is so greate wante in so many ptes of the Countrey) who shal be assured to find very good entertaynement for the Inhabitants who are very unwillinge to lay any part of the burthen thereof uppon yourselues.

Fortifications.

“Hauing accordinge to your instructions taken into sincere consideration the matter of Defence, wee doe finde it heere of soe great and necessarie ymportance, as we most humbly desire that you will be pleased not onlie w^t only to send us ouer hither some men skillfull in the Arte of

Fortificationes to whom wee shall be redie to giue our Comodious and most Defensible place for the seatinge of the Chieff Cyttie of this Kingdome, yf they shall finde James Cyttie a place not fitt or pper for that purpose.

Captain Thorpe visits Indian Chiefs.

“Whereas Sr: Francis Wyatt findinge the country att his ariual in very greate amytie and confidence wth the natiues, and beinge Desirous by all good meanes to contynue and enlarge the same, as a thinge very necessarie at the beginninge of his Gouverment, did (with the aduise and consent of the Counsell) said Capt: Thorpe wth a message and a presente both to the great Kinge Lasawpers formerly called Osatand and his Brother Apochankano, now Mangopocomon, whom he found much satisfied att his cominge though they were before as they confessed in some Jealousie whether our new Gouvernor would contynue the League or nott, Apochankano gaue him very good hope of their entertaininge of some of our famylies to liue amongst them, and of their sendinge to Cohabitt with us, and did confirme a former pmise of Sendinge one to be our guide beyonde the Falles to certain mines wch wee purpose to tye him unto.

Indians' Views of Religion and Astronomy.

“Capt. Thorpe found by discoursinge with him that he had more notions of religion in him than could be ymmagined in soe great blindnes, for hee willinglye Acknowledged that theirs was nott the right waye, desiringe to bee instructed in ours and confessed that God loued us better than them, and that he thought the cause of his Angre against them was their Coustome of makinge their Child-

ren black boys. Hee fownde alsoe hee had some knowledge of many of the fixed starrs and had obserued the North starr and the course of the Constellations about y^t, and called the great beare Manguakaiau, wch in their Language signifies the same, and beinge then in the midst of his huntinge did in conclusion referr Capt. Thorpe touchinge all matters to a fourther conference at Pomunke, when he had ended his huntinge.

Governor's Tenants.

“The lands belonging to the place of Gouvernor was resigned to Sr Francis Wyatt, but of the hundred Tenantes wch should bee on that lande hee hath receaued only 46. There were more of Capt. Argalls guard aliue, but they are to bee made free, and for one Mr Pountis will giue you satisfactions who receaued him of Sr George Yardly at his Landinge, because he was his Prentice by Indenture in Englande, as for the rest of the Tennants Sr George Yardly denieth to make them good. And sayeth that hauinge made noe such Agreement wth you at any tyme he holdeth nott himselfe tyed unto yt. And therefore should take it for a matter of great Iniustice to be compelled thereunto, and in that you refused to accept of his offer of the pffits of his Tennants yt was in your pleasure soe to doe. But he holdeth himselfe agreued that you should now seeme to require a farr greater matter at his handes he after the refusall beinge bounde to pforme neither, who sayeth also that he did neuer place upon the Gouenor's lands aboue 227 persons, but that the residue of the 230 were placed by him one ye Companie's Lands for their benefitt. Now seeinge Sr George Yardley denyeth that there was any Agreement made between you and him for the mak-

inge good of the 200 Tenantes uppon the Gouvernors Lande we haue forborne to compell him thereunto, untill we receaue your further directions therein.

Councillor's Oath.

“The Oath of Counsellors hath beene Administred to all the seuerall psons mentioned in that Comissione, saue only to M^r Leach who came not to us, and M^r Pawlett of whom we were doubtfull there being here two of that name, and neither required it of us :

Treasurer's Tenants.

“Yt beinge a matter of difficultie to finde out on the suddaine such a conuenient place for the Seatinge of the Thresurers Tenantes as in our Iudgments we thought requisite, and that would haue much endangered the health of his people and beene the meanes of the certaine loss of his next yeers cropp to haue kept them long without employment, about James Cyttie, M^r Threasurer was out of necessitie enforced to purchase for himselfe out of his own priuate Estate 200 hundred acres of Lande being the diuident of a priuate planter, for the present employment of his people, where they are yett remayninge. But the Lande belonginge to the place of Thresurer wee purpose as soon as may bee to haue allotted, and the Tenants belonginge thereunto placed thereon.

“The like course wee purpose to take for the Land and Tennantes belonging to the place of Physition who onto of the like necessitie was faine for the present to giue certain closes and clere ground for the employment of his people not far from James Cyttie.

Accomack Settlement.

“The Secretaries Tenantes were the last yeere placed at Achamack where soe many of them as remaine alieue doe yett remaine, but whether y^t bee fitt they should contynue there, well or nott, y^t is matter very considerable since that place ys soe farr from James Cyttie. And seeinge that of the twentie Tenantes belonginge to that place there are butt onely 9 remayninge, we haue thought y^t fitt to allow the Secretaries in the mean tyme certaine fees for the supplyinge of his Tenantes that are wanting, until you shalbe pleased to take some order for the makinge of them upp :

Excessive Tobacco Planting.

“For the drawinge of the People from the excessiue plantinge of Tobacco, wee haue by the consent of the generall Assemblie restrayned them to one hundred plants ye headd, uppon eache of wch plantes there are to bee left butt onely nyne leaues wch pportions as neere as could be guessed, was generally conceaued would be agreable wth the hundred waight you haue allowed. By wch meanes as also by the course that we haue taken for the keepinge of euery man to his Trade we doubt nott butt very much to preuent the Imoderate plantinge of Tobacco. But nothinge can more encourage all men to the plantinge of corne in abundance and soe diuert them from plantinge of Tobacco, then you would be pleased (since y^t you desire that greate plenty of Corne bee planted here as well for such multitudes of people as you hope yearly to send ouer, as for our owne selues to allow us a Marchantable Rate here for

our Corne, either to bee paid by Bills of Exchange in England or in Commodities to be deliuered here at 25 p. centum, the prise of 7s the Bushell being pposed by the generall Assemblie was by us thought very reasonable since the Corne you send ouer besides the hazard of being lost or spoyled at Sea, doth stand you in as much or more the charge or freight in Cask considered.

First Mill in United States.

The good example of S^r George Yardley by whom a wind-mill hath been allredy built, and of M^r Thresurer who ys about the Erectinge of a water mill wee hope be great encouragements to others in a matter of soe greate and generall use.

Iron Works.

“The care we haue taken of the Iron Wourkes we reserue to be reported by M^r Thresurer and M^r Barkley himselfe. Wee are about the erectinge of a salte worke by the helpe of Mr. Maurice Barkley who hath undertaken the ouersight thereof, and with a man that hath very good skill therin, and Miles Pirkett whom you haue sent to y^t purpose to be employed under him.

Commodities for Export.

“Pitch and Tarr we are in dought will neuer proue staple comodities by reason y^t the Trees (for ought we cann yett understand) doe grow soe dispersedlie as they are nott worthy the fetchinge togeather. Sope Ashes and p heereafter proue a good comoditie, but there are required towards that hands and at so cheape a rate as cannot yett bee.

“Wee haue sent you a Sample of y^t wch wee take to bee the Silke grass by M^r Harryott in S^r Walter Rauleighs Vioage of Discouerie and wee are informed farr larger and fayrer in many places than y^e sample wch

M^r Pory who found y^t oute in his late Vioage of Discoverie and after wch y^t y^e our purpose seriouslie to make further

Public House to be Built.

“By the consent of the last Generall Assemblie there y^e a large Contribution to be underwritten for the buildinge of a howse of Entertainment at James and therefore woode earnestly desire y^t you would be pleased to send ouer some of Carpenters Brickmakers and Bricklayers of wch usefull trades there is very great want, and for whose labour wee wilbe content to paye after a good rate

Glass Works.

“Touchinge the pceeding of Capt. Norton and the Italians M^r Thresurer hath prmised to giue you pticular aduertisement: The booke wch you haue been pleased to comend unto us hath nott yet been redd ouer by euery one of the Counsell, butt by as many as haue redd it, is very much distasted for the bitternes of the language.

Earl of Pembroke

“Yt is noe small encouragement unto us that the Right Hon^{ble} the Earle of Pembroke hath vouchsafed to caste a favorable eye uppon the Southern Colonie who shall comand from us our best endeauors in chusinge out for his Lor^p and his Assocyatts the most comodious seate that may be

Arrival of Gookin's Ship.

"There ariued heere about the 22th of Nouember a shipp from M^r Gookin out of Ireland wholly uppon his owne Adventure, withoute any relatione at all to his contract wth you in England, wch was soe well furnished with all sortes of pvisione, as well as with Cattle as wee could wyshe all men would follow theire example, hee hath also brought with him aboute 50 men upon that Aduenture, besides some 30 other Passengers, wee haue Accordinge to their desire seated them at Newports news, and we doe conceiue great hope yff the Irish Plantation p^rper y^t frome Ireland greate multitude of People wilbe like to come hither

Ship Builders needed.

"Wee doe humblie entreate you to go on wth your purpose of sending ouer of Shipwrightes, who for this Colonie y^t is yett seated one the riuers side, wilbe heere men of singular use for the buildinge of Shippes, Pynnaces, and small vessells, without the wch wee cannott well psecute our discouerie and seakinge to Trade wth our neighbours, or Transporte eyther ourselues or our Goodes from one place to another

Project of Capt. Nuce.

"Wee haue heerein sent you a piect of Capt Newces wch yf you shalbe pleased to take likinge of yt is thought heere, will yeelde you a more certain pfitt than your Tenants to halfes, wch being pposed to the generall Assemblie, was by them very well approved of: we haue uppon his Petition and deepe ptestations (yt he is utterlie ignorant in the busines of the Sawinge Mills) sent home the Dutchmans

Sonne who cam ouer hither only for the commforte of his father, and the rather to discharge you of the payinge of unnecessary wages.

Muster of Gookin's Ship.

“Mr Pountis hath had some conference with y^e M^r of the Irish shipp a Dutchman, whose name ys Cornelius Johnson of Horne in Hollande, who is soe farr in loue with this Countrey as he intendeth to returne hither; within this Twelue moneth, and of him selfe offered to pcure and bringe ouer a fitt M^r workman to build Sawinge mills heere wch shall goe with the winde, of which you may be pleased to enquire fourther, yf you thinke good, wch wee desire they may undertake themselues, by wch course, you shall run noe hassard but yf it pcede well, you may take y^e Aduantage of their Example.

“Thus desiringe you to beleuee y^t we will unanimouslie joine to the uttmmost of our powers for the Aduancement of the Colonie, of y^e future psperitie whereof we conceaue the greatest hope, by how much yt hath pleased God to bless this Colonie, wth much better health than formerlie, we most humblie take our leeuues and remaine at your comande

“FRANCIS WYETT

GEORGE YEARDLEY

GEORGE SANDYS

GEORGE THORPE

JO: BARKLEY

NATHA. POULE

CH: DAUISONE

THO. NEWCE

JOHN POTT

SAM MACOK

• Jo: POUNTIS.”

LETTER FROM "DUST AND ASHES."

January 30, 1621-2. "The letter subscribed D. and A., brought to the former Court by an unknowne Messenger was nowe againe presented to be read the contents whereof are as followeth :

"January 28th, 1621.

"Most worthie Companie : Whereas I sent the Treasurer and yorselues a letter, subscribed 'Dust and Ashes,' wch promised 550li. to guie to the prsons expressed and did soone afterward, accordinge to my promise send the said money to S^r Edwin Sandys to be deliuered to the Companie, In wch letter I did not directly order the bestowinge of the said money but shewed my intent for the conuersion of Infidells' Children, as it will appeare by that letter which I desire may be read in open Court, wherein I chiefly commended the orderinge thereof to the wisdom of the Hono^{ble} Companie, And whereas the gentlemen of Southampton Hundred haue undertaken the disposinge of the said 550li, I haue longe attended to see the erectinge of some schoole or other waye whereby some of the Children of the Virginians might haue bin taught and brought up in Christian religion and good manners wch not beinge donne accordinge to my intent but the money deteyned by a priuate hundred all this while contrary to my minde, though I iudge verie charitably of that honorable Society, And as already you haue receaued a great and the most painfully gained part of my estate towards the layinge of the foundaçon of Christian religion and helpinge forward of this pious worke in that Heathen, nowe Christian, Land, so nowe I

require of the whole Body of yo^r Hono^{ble} and worthie Companie, whome I entrusted with the dispose of the said monyes, to see the same speedily and faithfully conuerted to the worke intended. And I do further propound to you the hono^{ble} Companie, that if you will procure that some of the male Children of y^e Virginians though but a few be brought ouer into England here to be educated and taught, and to weare a habbit as the Children of Christ's Hospitall do and that you will be pleased to see the 550li conuerted to this use, then I faithfully promise that when eight or ten of the Virginians' Children are brought ouer, and placed in London either in Christ's Hospitall or els in the Virginian Schoole or Hospitall as it may be called and by the wills and guifts of good men may be yearly augmented, where the Companie may haue an ey ouer them, and be (as it were) nursing Fathers unto them, then I say I faithfully promise to add 450li more, to make the sume 1,000li wch if God permitt I will cheerfully send you only I desire to nominate the first tutor or Gouvernor who shall take charge to nurse and instruct them: But if you in yo^r wisdomes like not of this mo^{con} then my humble suite unto the whole body of yo^r Honorable Companie is that my former guift of 550li be wholly imployed and bestowed upon a free schoole to be erected in Southampton Hundred, so it be presently imployed, or such other place as I or my friends shall well like of wherein both English and Virginians may be taught together and that the said Schoole be endowed with such priuileges as you, in your wisdomes, shall think fitt: The M^r of wch Schoole I humbly craue may not be allowed to goe ouer except he first bringe in to the Companie sound testimony of his sufficiency in learninge and sincerity of life.

.. made, i.
p. 287^{sq.}

“ ‘The Lord giue you wise and understandinge harts,
that his worke therein be not negligently performed.

“ ‘D. and A.

“ Directed to ‘The Right Honorable and worthy the
“ ‘Treasurer, Councill and Company of Virginia.’ ”

WIFE OF READ,¹ THE BLACKSMITH.

March 13. “ The petiçon of Isabell Read beinge taken into consideraçon the Court hath ordered that shee shall repaire to Captaine Jo. Martin to require his aunsweare touchinge his promise of satisfacçon for her goods that he hath acknowledged came to his hands and which he hath since alienated and sold unto others as shee made to appeare and touchinge her other request for the howse and 100 acres of land wch James Read her Husband deceased in Virginia enioyed in respect of y^e Aduenture of his person thither, and died seized of them, the Court hath confirmed the same unto her Daughter Joane accordinge to her desire, beinge the next heire unto her deceased father.

“ The appointed Comittee hauinge drawne up a Declaration by waye of Aunsweare unto Captaine Martins Certificate and Patent the same was nowe presented in Courte and read being this that followeth

“ ‘Right Honorable whereas at a greate and Generall Quarter Courte for Virginia held the xxx the of January last

¹ James Read, blacksmith, landed with the first party at Jamestown, in May, 1607.

their was presented to the Said Courte a Certificate on the behalfe of Cap^t Jno. Martin, in y^e name of y^e Counsell & Comp^a for his Ma^{ty} here resident conteyninge a Declaration of his worth and seruises and therby reporting him to be worthie to enioy the Patents and priueledges therin graunted unto him subscribed by some Hon^{ble} personns and others: diuers of whome the Company conseavinge not to be fully enformed of the truth of all passages in that buisines, haue therefore thought itt their duty to giue unto them and p^ticularly unto yo^r Lo^{ps} a true Accompt of the State and Carriage thereof.

“ ‘ May it please yo^r Lo^{ps} therefore to be aduertised That whereas the said Company are Lymitted and dyrected by his Ma^{ty} Lres Patents to 4 great and generall quarter Courts only for passinge of all matters of greatest waight and p^ticularly for disposinge of the Land in Virginia, and as beinge a fundam^tall Lawe was notoreously knowne to all the Company & for further caution hath bine from time to time accordingly declared to the Planters as an ordinance from his Ma^{ty} to be inuolably obserued.

“ ‘ Contrarie here unto there was psented att a pryuate inferior Courte 2 seuerall Patents ready engrossed (ye Comy^a not beinge afore acquainted wth them) the one Constitutinge the said Capt Martin M^r of the Ordnance, the other conteyninge a Graunt of Land unto him, his heirs, executors and assignes, By wch pryuate Courte called extraordinarilie and as by ye effect appeared for y^t onely buisiness the said Patent was unlawfully and unduly passed notwithstandinge y^e dislike of diuers then psent, but yett neuer had y^e Confirmaçon of a Quarter Courte.

“ ‘ Secondly the saide Patent for Land doth conteyne an intended graunt of diuers exorbutant pryueledges and

transcendent liberties to Cap^t Martin apparantlie repugnant to iustice and the good Gouverment of the generall plantaçon wch the Comp^a by his Ma^{ties} Lres Patents to them could not graunt as mainely the exemption of all the people within his Lands from the Gouvernm^t of the Gouvernor and Counsell in Virginia and from all other seruices of the whole Colony there (except in case of Warr and allso a graunt of unlymited Fishinge, And allso y^e Fifte pt of all rich Mynes, And to enioy all other Mynes found by him his heirs or assignes, and of Comon Martes to be erected att his pleasure & many other generall indefinite liberties as appeareth in the said Patent; By collour of wch exorbitant Patent many great inconuenyencies haue followed to y^e Company and Colony, as in pticularr Capt Martins refusall to Submitt himselfe to ye Lawes, and orders of the Colony in Virginia.

“ And y^t this Plantaçon is made a Receptacle & Harbo^r of disordered psonns who subterfuge thither from ordinary Iustice, All wch & many other mischeefs haue been often Complayned of by y^e Colony att their pticular and generall Assemblies and by y^e Gouverno^m there aud most grieuously by Capt Argall himselfe then Gouverno^r by his letter to the Company, notwithstanding his owne subscripçon to Capt Martins saide Certificate in approbaçon of the said Patent uppon wch Lre an order was made in a great and generall Quarter Court in May 1618 and a Comittee appoynted to examine and reforme y^e said Patent there being psent att y^t Court S^r Thomas Smith and Mr. Alderman Johnson then Trer and Deputy to this Company so y^t itt seemeth strange to y^e Comp^a to finde their hands allso to Capt Martins Certificate contradictinge the Act of y^t great Courte wherein themselues were y^e principall directors :

“Moreouer y^e said inconueniences haue been lately satisfied Viua Voce before the Company in open Courte.

“Lastly y^e Company haue and doe alwaies offer to grant y^e said Captaine Martin (of any of whose good ~~mem~~emerritts they should be glad to heare and cherish) uppon surrender of his former a new patent of all his Land with as large and ample pryuyldges as any other hath, wch fauour all butt himselfe haue most willingly & thankfully accepted of

“The said Certificate of Capt John Martin was subscribed to with these names, vizd

“‘PEMBROAK	THO: SMITH
Ro: WARWICK	FRA: WEST
LEICESTER	W ^m ST JOHN
MOUNTGOMERY	ROB ^t JOHNSON
SHEFFEILDE	SAMUELL ARGALL
Ro: MANSELL	W ^m CANNING

“Wch Declaration beinge read and some words altered that might fitt it to the qualitie of those that were no lords that had subscribed to the said Certificate and after put to the question was well approued of and order giuen to the Secretary to make diuers copies thereof, the Court entreatinge S^r Jo Dañers and Mr. Tomlins to deliuer unto such Lords as had subscribed thereunto a particular Coppie of the Companies aunswear unto the said Certificate as also unto the M^r of requests wch they were pleased to undertake and for the rest order was giuen to the Secretary to deliuer a Coppie to each of them.

LETTER OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA,
WRITTEN IN APRIL, 1622.

“Right Hono^{ble}

“Wee receued your Letters bearinge date the 26th of Nouember and 5th of December, 162 , the first by the Discouerie which ariued not at James Cyttie until the 14th of April last, the other by the Bona Noua the 7th of the same and will doe our best to fulfil your comands as farr as the necessitie of our prsente affayres will prmitt. But since our last by the George dated in Januarie 1621 itt hath pleased God for our many seruices to laye a most lamentable Afflictione uppon this Plantation, by the trecherie of the Indyans, who on the 22th of March laste attempted in most places under the Coulor of unsuspected amytie, in by Surprize to haue cutt us of all, and to haue Swept us away at once throughoute the whole lande had itt nott plesed god of his abundant mercy to preuent them in many places, for wch we can neuer sufficient magnifie his blessed name.

Greut Massacre.

“Butt yet they puayled soe farr y^t they haue massacred in all partes aboue three hundred men, women, and children, and haue since nott only spoyled and slaine diuers of our Cattell, and some moer of our people, and burnt most of the Howses we haue forsaken, but haue also enforced us to quitt many of our Plantacons, and so unite more neerely together in some places the better for to strengthen and defende ourselues against them.

Plantations Occupied.

“Wee haue thought most fitt to hold those few places James Cyttie, wth Paspebay, and certain Plantaçons one the other side of the riuer ouer against the cyttie, and / Kickoghtan and Newports News Southampton hundred, Flowerdon hundred, Sherley hundred and Plantaçons of Mr Samuell Jourdans; all other through out the whole Colonie we haue been fayne to abandon and to bringe the most of our Cattle to James Cyttie, the Island beinge the securest place for them, wch we hold in all the Riuer. And these are more than wee could willinglie haue held but that it was ympossible to receaue from so many dispersed and straglinge Plantaçons, and bringe of so many people, Goods, Prouisions, and Cattle to any one place soe Sudaainly as the season of the yeere for plantinge required, neyther yf wee would was there in any one wee held so much clered ground or Howsing as was able to receaue halfe the people togeather. Now matters standinge with us heere in this unhappie State, there are some few things of especyall consequence wch voluntariely offer themselves both to your consideraçons and ours, and uppon the speedie accomplishment whereof both the Honor and safetie of the whole Acçon depende, and therefore we cannott but assure ourselves, you wilbe as sencyble thereof as the ymportance of the cause requireth.

Importance of a Fortified Place.

“The First, wch wee did a little touch att in our laste Letters sent by the George, ys the greate necessitie of findinge oute a place soe defensible to seate uppon, as where we may soe fortifie ourselves that neyther the In-

dyains may infest us (wch they will continuallie endeauor to doe) nor forraine enemy subuert us, wch wilbe the master peece of this great woorke, for since this late woeful experience hath taught us, That our first and princypall care should haue beene for our safetie, by the neglect whereof the Plantacon though it hath seemed to goe on in a hopefull and florishinge course, yett hath all this while, gone butt soe much out of the way.

Settlements too Scattered.

“ And that it could not butt bee subiect to much damages to bee soe dispersedlie and promiscuously planted wth our late reconciled saluage enymies, y^t y^o very necessarie for us yett at last to laye better and surer foundations for y^e tyme to come. And since the place ys yett to seeke, to make choyce of such nowe, and there to fortifie ourselues, soe as we may be able to defend us even against our most powerfull Enemyes, and therefore we most humblie desire that you would be pleased to giue us leaue to remaine in such a place as wee shall finde most fitt to seate uppon, for the dyscouery whereof wee intende this Summer to use our best endeauors.

Desire to settle in one place.

“ And to that ende to haue comissione That the Generall assemblie here may haue full power and Authoritie to remoue to such a place as they shall resolute one, and because we cannott serue ourselues, as wee should unles wee unite together in greate Bodies, where wee must be contented for a while wth small quantities of Lande according to y^e of there people; that you would bee pleased for a tyme y^t noe Pattents be graunted at home to any pticular

plantation to seate when they thinke good, but both for the place and pportione of Lande they bee att the directione and pportionment of the Gouvernor and Counsell here.

Necessity for Corn.

“The next matter of greatest ymportance ys how in this tyme of distresse untill y^e Plantation hath a little recouered itselfe and is somewhat settled, we shalbe puided of a sufficyent pportione of corne, wherein now the very life of the whole Colony consist, to feede for many monthes, as we heere too third ptes wherof are women, children and unskilfull people since there neuer was more cause to feare the miserable ruin of y^e Plantation by a relapse into an extreame famine, than at this tyme unles our wants be supplied from home, (for besides the season of plantinge corne almost lost before wee could drawe together many whose labours myght haue beene a great helpe to the encreasinge of our store, must now of necessitie be employed in watchinge and wardinge night and daye for the saftie of the rest of the howses, of the cattle, and of the corne w^{ch} shalbe planted, and many must be sent out against the Indiyans, that we may be the more quiett and safe at home; neyther can wee now plant corne in so many places as wee could (especially neere the howses by reason y^t proceadeth all ouer the ground and thicke growne) that the Indiyans may hide themselues therein, who will from tyme to tyme peeke out many of our people whilst they are about their weedinge and dressinge thereof, and we haue great reason to dout since they haue heretofore practized the like, that where wee doe plant any corne they will eyther cutt it downe or destroy it in Summer before y^t bee ripe or by stealth share with us at Haruest. And

as for our last and beste refuge heere which y^a our getting of corne eyther from our freends by trade, or from our enemies by force though we will to our uttermost endeuo^r both, y^t is very uncertaine and hazardous. And therefore we most humbly desire that since a sufficyent pportione of corne and that very good and well chosen be sent as may be able to sustaine the whole colonie this next yeere, yf neede shall soe require, and that noe man be suffered to come hither without a yeers prouision of corne at leste.

Arms Wanted.

“ Another thinge of noe lesse moment than the former y^a Armes and munitions of w^{ch} there is heere at this tyme so great wante that at least a third pte of men able to beare Armes are utterly unpuided thereof and without w^{ch} we cannot only not goe fourth to reuenge us uppon our enemyes but shalbe euen unable to defend ourselues at home. And therefore shall also desire y^t some speedie course be taken for the sendinge of a large quantitie thereof and y^t a continual supplie may follow from tyme to tyme.

An Engineer requested.

“ And since wee are resolved to bestow much paynes in matter of fortifications where wee seate ourselues, that you would be pleased wth all speede to sende us some Skillfull Engineers fit for such a worke at alsoe great store of spades, shouells, mattocks, prickaxes, and other tooles fitt for that purpose. For w^{ch} as also for such corne, Armes, munition or any thing else w^{ch} you shalbe pleased to send us, y^t is not our desire to be any way chargeable unto you but as we are confident to be able to doe it, notwithstandinge all those misfortunes w^{ch} haue befallne us, soe shall wee be

most willinge to giue you such sattisfaction further for them wth very good Tobacco, and for the pformance whereof we doe by these presents engage ourselues unto you.

“Thus makinge noe question but that yf you shalbe pleased to send us those supplies in our necessities, the speedines wherof will dubble your fauo^r to us therein. And therfore we cannott but againe with all earnestness ymportune the same, the Plantation will suddenly be in a farr more safer happie, and florishinge estate than euer it was before, We most humbly take our leaues and rest
Att yo^r comand.

Howes, the Chronicler.

May 20. “M^r Howe the Cronicler¹ makinge a request for 12^{ld} of Tobacco w^{ch} he pretends was promised him yearly in consideraçon of his paines and willingness to doe the Companie seruice in his Booke relatinge the passages concerninge Virginia. The Court was pleased to graunt his request for this yeare giuinge order that so much should be deliuered him of the Companies Tobacco w^{ch} he thankfully accepted of.

Maids Towne.

May 22. “The Aduenturors for the Maides sent the last Somer, hauinge moued for a ratable proporçon of Land to their Aduenture to be laid out together, where they intend to build a Towne w^{ch} they desire may be called by the name of Maydes Towne. The Court hath graunted the request and approued of the name they haue giuen thereunto.

¹ Edward Howes, gentleman and chronicler, continued *Stowe's Chronicles of England*, and in his *History of Reign of James the First* speaks well of Virginia. He was probably the same Ed. Howes, who frequently corresponded with Winthrop of Connecticut.



CHAPTER XIII.

THIRD YEAR OF THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP.

TRANSACTIONS FROM MAY 22, UNTIL SEPTEMBER, 1622.

Annual Election.



MAY 22, 1622. "Upon mo^oon in regard the Afternoone was farr spent, it was by a generall consent agreed unto that the Court should be continued after 6 of the Clocke till all buisnesses were ordered.

"Immediately after these things were thus ordered, as the Court were proceedinge after their accustomed manner to the elec^on of their Treasurer, Deputy and other Officers for the present yeare accordinge to the direc^on of his Ma^{ty} Letters Patents, M^r Alderman Hamersly¹ rose upp and hauinge first excused his seldome cominge to Courte by reason of the officers negligent warninge of him he said,

Calvert has a Message from the King delivered.

"That himselfe and Mr. Bell² were both comanded by M^r Secretary Caluert to deliuer a Message in his Ma^{ty} name unto this Court, namely to signifie, that although it was not

¹ Hugh Hamersly, haberdasher, a prominent merchant, sheriff in 1618, mayor of London 1627.

² Robt. Bell, for years an associate with Sir Thomas Smith in the management of the affairs of East India Company.

his Ma^{ties} desire to infringe their liberty of free elec^{tion} yet it would be pleasing unto him, if they made choise for Treasurer and Deputy any of the gentlemen (comended for their sufficienceness whose names were men^{tioned} in the paper nowe presented in open Court w^{ch} were these that follow, vizt :

ffor Treasurer were named.

S^r J^o Wolstenholme.

S^r W^m Russell.

M^r Cletherow.¹

M^r Maurice Abbott.²

M^r Hamford.³

ffor Deputy.

M^r Leat.⁴

M R^o Oftly.⁵

M^r Stiles.

M^r Abdy.⁶

M^r Bateman.⁷

“ M^r Bell beinge also entreated to deliuer the Message he had receaued from M^r Secretary Caluert said That he was not present when M^r Secretary Caluert imparted this Message to M^r Alderman Hamersly but that there came a Messenger to him one night to require him to attend M^r Secretary Caluert⁸ at his Chamber and beinge there M^r

¹ Christopher Cletherow had been one of the directors of East India Company, sheriff in 1625.

² Maurice Abbott, brother of Archbishop of Canterbury, and at a late period one of the Commissioners for Virginia, sheriff of London in 1627.

³ Afterwards Sir Humphrey Handford, sheriff of London, 1622.

⁴ Nicholas Leat, ironmonger.

⁵ Robert Offley, merchant of London, died in 1631.

⁶ Probably Anthony Abdy.

⁷ Robert Bateman who had been solicitor of East India Company.

⁸ George Calvert created baron of Baltimore, February, 1625. On the accession of Charles, having under Gondomar's influence joined the church of Rome, refusing to take the oath of supremacy, was retired. Visited his plantation in New Foundland in 1627, and again in 1628. From

Secretary told him, that his Ma^{ty} commanded him to signifie his pleasure that out of his good wishes (for the good of the Company and the Plantation he had recomended to this Court certaine Gentlemen (named in the paper nowe presented) if the Company so thought good : But it was not his meaninge to infringe the liberty of their free choyse ; And being desirous to haue his message in writinge, M^r Secretary said it needed not for it was but short.

Earl of Southampton's Reelection.

“ Both w^{ch} Message agreeinge in substance, and beinge a full remonstrance of his Ma^{ty} well wishinge unto the Plantation and of his gracious meaninge not to infringe the priuiledge of the Companie and liberty of their free elecōn was receaued with great ioye and contentment of the whole Court and thereupon proceedinge to the elecōn of their Treasurer, for w^{ch} only three by the orders of the

thence went to Virginia, but refusing to take the oath of supremacy required by law, was expelled from the colony. In 1632 obtained a charter for settling a portion of Virginia, but died on April 13th. A manuscript in Library of Congress copied from the original in British Museum, furnishes the following facts :

The king, when the patent was brought, asked Baltimore, what should be the name of the region ceded ? He replied it would have been pleasant to have called it after the king, but another province had been called Carolana. Then said Charles, “ Let us name it after the queen, what think you of Mariana ? ” Baltimore reminded the king that was also the name of the Spanish historian who taught that the will of the people was higher than the law of tyrants. Still disposed to compliment his wife, the king said “ Let it be Terra Mariæ,” and the blank for the name of the province was thus filled.

Wolstenholme was largely engaged in trade with America.

Company could stand, It was generally agreed that out of the five formerly proposed by his Ma^{tie} for Treasurer; choise should be made of two of them to stand in eleccon with one that the company should name :

“ Whereupon the former five beinge seuerally put to the question It appeared by ereccon of most hands that Mr. Clethero and Mr. Hanford, were to stand for it : Then the Companie named the Lord of Southampton who beinge all three accordingly ballated, the place fell to the Lord of Southampton by hauinge 117 balls, Mr. Clethero 13, and Mr. Hamford 7.

“ In like manner out of the five formerly named by his Ma^{tie} for Deputy, by ereccon of most hands M^r Leat and M^r Bateman were to stand for it, unto whome the Companie hauinge added M^r Nicholas Farrar they were all three put to the Ballatinge Boxe, and thereupon choise was made of M^r Nicholas Farrar by hauinge 103, M^r Bateman 10, and M^r Leate 8.

June 5. “ My Lo : Cauendish acquainted the Court wth his Ma^{tie} Answeare unto the message he deliuered in the name of the Companie in the presence of my Lo : Haughton and diuers others of the Counsell that attended them.

THE LONDON COMPANY TO GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA,
JUNE 10, 1622.

“ After o^r very heartie comendacons : The safe arriuall of all the Shippes and people sent this last yeare to Virginia, hath bredd such abundance of ioy as could not be contained amongst o^rselues, but hath declared itself by publique thanksgiueinge unto God Almightye that of the richness of his mercies through all waies and passages so

securely conducted you : This unexpected blessing doth much encourage us in the midst of many difficulties wth an assured hope that the indignation of God is now at last appeased and that his gracious fauor^s shall henceforth lead you on successfully in all things : And this we hope the rather by the good enterance w^{ch} we haue understood you haue made in the Iron works, and other staple commodities, wherein we most earnestly intreat you with all constancie and dilligence to proceed : for there is now an absolute necessitie upon us to make good and that speedily by reall prooffe some of those things, wth the expectation of w^{ch} we haue so long possessed the world.

Iron and Wine expected.

“ Wherefore as y^{or} owne welfare and the aduancement of y^e Plantation is deare and pretious unto you, or if our loues and endeuors haue deserued ought at yo^r hands ; we pray and intreat you not to faile in the performance of what we in y^{or} behalfe haue promised : and let us haue at least by the next returnes some good quantitie of Iron and Wyne ; that w^{ch} you sent by the George was by long carrieng spoiled but principally by the mustie caske wherein itt was putt so that it hath been rather of scandall than creditt unto us.

Silk raising urged.

“ His Ma^{tie} aboue all things requires from us a prooffe of silke ; sharply reprocuinge the neglect thereof, wherefore we pray you lett that little stock you haue be carefully improued, the mulberrie trees preserued and increased, and all other fitt preparations made for, God willing before Christmas you shall receiue from us one hundred

ounces of Silkworme seed at least, wch comeing to late from Valentia we haue been forced to hatch it here.

Silk Grass.

“The Silk grasse sent home by Mr. Pory, whose paines and discouries we much esteeme, is auouched unto us by them that haue long liued in the East Indies to be the same of wch the Cambaya stufes are made, we pray you therefore and him in pticular to endevor to procure some good quantitie of it that experience may be made thereof.

Proposed Alteration of Tenant's Conditions.

“The project of Capt. Newce concerninge the altering of the condiçons with o^r Tenants hath been the more carefully considered of by us in regard it was recommended by you in generall, but as yett we are come to no determination thereof through the interrupçon of many and weighty bussineses, wch haue wholly taken off o^r times and wch we could by no meanes waue, but we shall true enough giue answer thereunto: In the meanwhile we desire that no alteration be made but that the best may be donne according to the course therein.

Fortifications.

“Wee haue much and very carefully labored in the matter of Fortification, wch you so much presse but hauinge fruitlessly attempted diurs waies, Capt. Each, maister of the Abigaile made offer uppon the assurance of 60,000 waight of Tobacco homwards at 3d p. pound freight to carrie twelue carpenters with him, by whom and his owne Mariners together with the assistance of the Collony

layinge his Shipp nere Blunt Point, he wold erect before the end of March uppon the oyster banks a Block House that should forbid the passage of any Shipp upp higher in the riuier. Wee haue many times aduised with the Planters lately come ouer, and by the opinions and entreatie of them all assuring us it will be a most necessarie and welcome busines haue agreed with Capt. Each to sett forward from the Isle of Wight the beginning of August next; and although the Company at psent be much indebted neere two thousand pounds yet for the effectinge hereof they haue not refused to bestow neare 300^{ld} in Instruments and other provisions necessarie the repayment whereof they will expect the psent yeare from the Collony, for whose safty and securitie they doe it: Wee send you here the plott of that wch he hath proposed unto us, that by consideration thereof you may be better prepared.

The Company's Debts.

“The Companies debts here at home make us very solicitous w^{ch} hauinge grown not for o^r ownselues here, whereas you well know all things are donne freelie, but for the aduantage and good of the Plantation, and Collonie; we cannot but desire y^{or} w^{ch} haue the greatest benefitt to take likewise uppon you, part of the care for the sattisfaction thereof, that neither the Company be disinabled and dishonored, nor those priuate psons who stand engaged for them, damaged, whose deserts towards you, as in this so in all other things haue been very great: wherefore we earnestlie intreat you to be all assistant in what possible you may to those whose pticular charge it is for the improueing and recouringe of the Companies debts and reuenwes.

Poor Tobacco.

“The Tobacco sent home by the George for the Company proued very meane and is yett unsould although it hath been offered at 3^s the pound. This we thought fitt to aduise you concerninge the quantitie and the maner how it is raised, in both w^{ch} being done contrarie to their direcōns and extreamly to their preiudice, the Companie is very ill sattisfied, wee will write by the next more largely.

The Glass Works.

“Next the publike, wee must againe recomend unto you the last yeares und^rtakinge of the Glass-works, the Furrs, the Maids, and the Magazine, that each of them respectiuely haue y^{or} best fau^{or} and assistance, so that although they haue missed of the p^sent return w^{ch} they expected, yett in the end the good proceed of their Aduentures may enable and encouradg them to go on in these and the like necessarie kinds of supplies, w^{ch} haue here risen not out of the supfluitie of their estates but out of their charitie and great zeale w^{ch} they beare unto the Plantation, w^{ch} by the delay of one yeare is sett so much backward, whereof the damage is the Collonies, and o^rs the discontent and grefe, who would willingly haue continued o^r yearly supplies if we might haue been answered as was fitt with yearly returnes whereof wee see no just cause to the contrarie.

The Maids.

“Wee understand that M^r Pountis his care and charitie in providing for the maids hath been very great, for w^{ch} not onely the pticular Aduenturers who haue sent him a

remembrance of their loues, but the whole Company return him verie hartie thanks: But whereas we are informed by some priuate letters of his purpose to come to England this yeare, if it be not grounded on waightier reasons than are alledged we earnestly intreate him to stay considering both in regards of his skill and office, there wil be speciall need of his assistance in the buildinge of the forte and otherwise: In this request the Aduenturers of Southampton hundred ioyne, who by the good entrance that he hath made in theire bussines haue conceiued much hope of the bettering their Plantacon; and for the ordering of the Discoverie and the proceeds of her voadge w^{ch} hath been a maruailous charge unto them they do much relie uppon his help. The reward of the great paines and care w^{ch} we and they by the seurall employments haue putt uppon him shal be to the uttermost of our abillities and we doubt not to his full content, for the pformance whereof we desire creditt onely till the ariuall of the Abigaile.

Cattle.

“One thing more in pticular we are to intreat him, that whereas there haue been a deliuerie of certaine Kine and Calues unto him by M^r Woodalls appointant, that he do not proceed in the sale or disposing of any more of them then are already sold, till they haue further order from the Company who conceiue themselves much wronged in the deliury of so many, besids that there is claime made by others unto that debt uppon w^{ch} M^r Woodall had the order for the catle.

Ship Builders sent.

“ In this Shipp cometh ouer Capt Tho: Barwick wth fīue and twentie psons und^r his gouern^t for the building of boats, Shipps, and Pinnaces, uppon w^{ch} they are onely to be employed; the list of theire names, the Copies of their seuerall couennants, and the Inuoyce of their prouisions we send you here along, to the intent that by the knowledge of those pticulars yo^r cares and fauo^rs might the better help forward this busines: There is not any thing of this nature, as hath put us to so much troble and charge as ths Project hath done; wherefore as the most difficult, we most especially recommend it unto you desiringe you that all the prsons in generall may be cherished, so in pticular Capt Tho: Barwick may find from you that fau^or and respect as may better enable him for the pformance of his place.

Oversight of George Sandys Requested.

“ And as of all in generall so in pticular, we verie earnestlie request M^r George Sandys from whom at first this project in part moued to haue an especial regard unto the proceedinge thereof, and that he would be pleased to take the accompts of Capt. Tho: Barwick and to transmitt the profitts accordingly as they shall grow due from time to time, unto the Aduenturers. Our desire is that they should be sett downe all together in one place where after the conuenient howsinge of themselues, they should all liue and work together in their seuerall trades; the choos- ing of a place is lefte to yo^rs and their owne iudgments, so as there may be at the least 1200 acres of land appropriated unto it, and for the better easing of them in drawinge of their Tymber the Company haue graunted to lend him

four of their oxen, wch we pray yo^r cause to be deliuered unto them.

Carpenter for East India School.

“There comes also along one Leonard Hudson a Carpenter, wth his wife and five of o^r Apprentices for the erecting of the East India Schoole, the monies would not reach unto the sending of an Vsher as was at first intended, and besides uppon a second consideration it was thought good to giue the Collony the choise of the Schoolem^r or Vsher, if so be there be any there fitt for the place, if not we desire to und^rstand what proportion of maintainance they will alowe and accordingly wee will do o^r best to procure from hence an honest and sufficient man for such a charge. The building of a Schoole and setting out the land at Charles Cittie is not so absolutely required, but that if an other place shal be iudged more conuenient by the Colonie is left to yo^r choise, but that there be such a proportion of land somewhere laid out, and that these people now sent be kept together for cultivating the land and building of a house, may not upon any reason whatsoeuer be altred : wherefore we pray you to lett the buissines proceed in that course, where in the notice of a good begininge we are assured will stirr upp the minds of diurs good people to add liberally to this foundation : There is very much in this buissines that wee must leaue to yo^r cares and wisdomes ; and the help and assistance of good people, of wch we doubt not.

Rev. William Leate.

“We send ouer M^r Willm Leate, a minister recomended unto us for sufficiencie of learning and integrity of life :

if he be entertained by any private Societie we shall expect the charge of 26^{ld} wch the Comp. hath laid out for him, to be returned by the first in good Tobacco 18^d p^{ld} and not aboue; and in this in the like kinds we especially desire the care of M^r George Sandys that by the returne of the Stock we may be enabled to continue the supplies.

Provisions for Mr. Berkeley.

“The good endeauo^{rs} of M^r Berkley we kindly accept and haue sent him and his people diuers prouisions wch he writt for: for matter of apparell he must supplie that out of the Magazines we hauinge beyond our liberties strained o^rselues; but the Aduenturers of Southampton hundred desire that he may out of their Store haue fine kine deliured him and his Company.

Supplies for Frenchmen.

“There is likewise some prouisions for the Frenchmen and the next Shipp shall bring their apparell, there wadges haue been paid here to M^r Bonall, theire kind usage and the instructing and training up of many in their skille and arts are things we especially recomend unto you.

Captain Norton.

“The Aduenturers of the Glasse haue sent Capt Norton a good supplie, the Copie of all wch Invoyses together with that of Martins hundred we send here inclosed; that you might the better right them if by the negligence and default of the Mariners, they suffer any damage. Uppon the good performance of this Vioadge by the Master we desire you to aford him all the fauo^r and curtesie you may,

the owners and undertakers of the Shipp, being persons likely by large Aduentures mutch to aduance the Plantation.

Rev. Robert Paulett.

"Mr Robert Paulett the Minister, was he whom the Court chose to be of the Counsell for Mr Harwood, the Aduenturers of Martin hundred desire that he might be spared from that office, their bussines requiringe his presence continually. The last thing that we will conclude with is, that it hath pleased my Lord of Southampton for one yeare more to accept the place of Treasurer, and the Lo : Cauendish of the gouernment of the Sumer Ilands. And so reseruinge all other pticulars untill better conueniencie, we comitt yoⁿ and all y^{or} affaires to the guidinge and protection of the Allmightie.

"Yo^r very Louinge frends

"London 10 January 1622

"To o^r very Louing frends
S^r Francis WYATT Knight
Gouernor, and Capt Genall
of Virginia, and to the rest
of the Counsell of State
there, these be.

WILLM : DEUNSHIRE

THEOPH : HOWARD

WILLM. CAUENDISH

ED : SACKFEILD

JO : LAWTON

EDWIN SANDIS

JO : DAUERS

ROBERT SMITH

NICHO : FERRAR Deputie

JOHN FERRAR

THO : GIBBS

JOHN SMITH

THO : SHEAPERD"

THE KINGS FOREST IN VIRGINIA.

June 19. "The Aunsweare of the Counsell and Compayng for Virginia assembled in a generall Courte [June 19, 1622] to the Petition of Captayne Jhon Martyn and Capt: Robert Hassell with many others unnamed touching that which they call the King's Forrest in Virginia.

"The sayde Counsell and Companie for aunsweare thereinto saye that they acknowledge no Kinge of Virginia but Kinge James, of and under whome they hold and not from Kinge Powhatan so named by the Peticioners.

"True it is that for a permanent home as well to his royall Ma^{tie} the ffounder of that Plantation as also to his princely Issue they haue named both their chiefe Citties, as also other places most remarkable with the names of his Ma^{tie} and of his Children w^{ch} they suppose doth noe waye alter the proprietie of Inheritance in those places w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} by his letters Patent under his great seale hath graunted to the said Companie for and throughout all Virginia.

"Touchinge the Kings Forrest so named in the petiçon, it is a name happily knowne to Capt: Martin and his Associats but not to the Company, and in the circuitof that Territory w^{ch} they are pleased to call the Forrest are placed both James City beinge the principall City in Virginia, and place of residence for the Gouvernor and Counsell and also diuers other principall plantaçons and namely that of the City of London.

"Touchinge the Deere it is true that generally the whole Countrie of Virginia is replenished with them, but for the swyne they are no other than y^e breed of such as haue been transported thither by the Companie: And it is

straunge unto them y^t Capt. Martin who is said to haue ruined as well his owne State (if euer he had any) as also the estate of others who put him in trust (as namely Capt. Bargaue) and who hath made his owne Territory there a Receptacle of vagabonds and bankrupts and other disorderly psons (whereof there hath bin made publique complaint) and who is famous for nothinge but all kinde of base condiçons so published in print by the Relations of the proceedings of the Colony about 10 yeares since, and who for the said condiçons was displaced by the Lord De Lawarr from beinge of the Counsell as a most unworthie person, and who hath presumed of his owne authority (no way deriued from his Ma^{tie}) to giue uniust sentence of death upon diuers of his Ma^{ties} subjects and seen the same put in cruell execuçon, should dare to offer himselfe to his Sacred Ma^{tie} as a Agent either for matter of good husbandrie or good order.

“ And as for Capt: Hazell he is neither Aduenturer in the Companie nor Planter in Colony but a meere stranger to both, nor otherwise knowne unto them than as an Interpreter to a Polonian Lord of his owne creatinge.

“ But if his Ma^{tie} should be pleased to haue a Royall measne sett out for his Ma^{ties} his heirs and successors in Virginia to be and to be called for euer the King's Land there could be nothinge more ioyfull to the said Counsell and Companie, nor wherein they would more willingly imploy their uttermost endeauors for the aduancinge of a perpetuall standinge Reuenue to his Ma^{tie}.

Quarter Court.

July 3. “ The Court gaue order that a Receipt should be sealed for 47th 16^s w^{ch} the gentlemen and marriners had

giuen to the East India Company to be imployed in layinge the foundaçon of a Church in Virginia.

Capt. Martin Prim.

“The Court thought fitt to make Capt: Martin Prim (the Captain of the Royall James) a freeman of the Companie, and to giue him two shares of land in reguard of the large contribuçon w^{ch} the gentlemen and marriners of that shippe had giuen towards good works in Virginia whereof he was an especiall furtherer.

Rev. Mr. Pemberton.

“The Court thought fitt to bestowe a freedome uppon M^r Pemberton a minister of Gods word, intendinge forthwith to goe to Virginia and there to imploye himselfe for the conuertinge of the Infidells.

Rev. Mr. Launce.

“The Court likewise thought fitt to make M^r Launce a ffreeman understandinge that he was a continuall remembrancer of the Plantation in his Prayers.

Land assigned to Daniel Gookin.

“M^{rs} Mary Tue daughter of Hugh Crouch beinge the heire and Executrix of Lieutenant Richard Crouch did sett and assigne ouer in this Court 150 Acres of land, w^{ch} he said Leutenant Crouch did bequeath unto her by the name of Mary Younge his sister, w^{ch} Land, was for their seruants psonall Aduentures and lyes at Newports Newes, the said land shee assigned ouer to M^r Daniell Gookin.

Land Assigned to Samuel Jordan.

"The said Mary Tue likewise assigned 100 acres of land w^{ch} lies in Diggs his Hundred to Samuell Jordan of Charles Hundred gentleman.

Patents Recommended.

"These Patents followinge were read and compared and found to be right and therefore recomended them to the Afternoons Court for confirmaçon.

The Lady Berkeley	}	Aduenturers
M ^r Tho: Addison		
M ^r Edw: Johnson		
M ^r Edw: Palmer ¹		
M ^r Wm Felgate		
M ^r Fran Pecke, &c	}	Planters
M ^r John Harvy		
M ^r John Pemberton		
M ^r Wm Rowsly		
M ^r Dan: Gookin		
M ^r Chris: Hillary		

Rev. Mr. Hopkins.

July 3. The Court haue agreed to recomend Mr. Hopkins Minister unto the Gouvernor of Virginia in respect of

¹ Palmer's isle at the mouth of the Susquehanna was named after Edward Palmer of Leamington, Gloucester Co., England. Camden says he was "a curious and diligent antiquary;" Fuller, in his *Worthies*, writes: "His plenteous estate afforded him opportunity to put forward the ingenuity implanted by nature, for the public good, resolving to erect an academy in Virginia. In order whereunto, he purchased an island, called Palmer's island unto this day; but in pursuance thereof was at many thousand pounds expense some instruments employed therein, not discharging the trust reposed in them with corresponding fidelity." He died about 1625.

Leamington is in Gloucestershire England

that good comendaçon that Mr. Edw Allen¹ hath giuen of him beinge desirous to goe ouer at his own charge.

Capt. Thomas Jones.

July 17. A moçon was made in the behaffe of Captaine Thomas Jones² Captaine of the Discouery nowe imployed in Virginia for Trade and ffishinge that he might be admitted a ffreeman of this Companie in reward of the good seruices he hath there performed. The Court liked well of the moçon and condiscended thereunto.

¹ Edward Allen or Alleyn, formerly stage-player. In 1619 Dulwich College founded by him was completed. He died in 1626, aged 63.

² Jones, for some reason not stated, although he sailed from England in November, 1621, did not arrive at Jamestown until the following April. In August, 1622, he anchored at New Plymouth. Bradford says: "Behold now another providence of God a ship comes into the harbor, one Captain Jones being chief therein. They were set out by some merchants to discover all the harbors between this and Virginia, and the shoals of Cape Cod, and to trade along the coast where they could *
* * There was in the ship a gentleman by name Mr. John Pory: he had been secretary in Virginia and was now going home, passenger in this ship."

On December 15th, of this year the Council for New England directed a letter to be written to the Treasurer of the Virginia Company complaining of Capt. Jones, for robbing the natives of New England of their furs, and taking some prisoners.

In July, 1625, Jones again arrived at Jamestown with a Spanish frigate, which he alleged was taken in West Indies, under a commission of the states to one Captain Powell, from whom he had separated, to repair this ship. Shortly after his arrival he died, and the Virginia authorities suspected that the Spanish vessel had been illegally obtained.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE MASSACRE.

In the month of July the first intelligence of the great massacre in Virginia, on Friday the 22d of March, was received by the Sea Flower.

Among others who came in the vessel, was brave Daniel Gookin, who was present at the 17th at a meeting of the Company. The following is the principal part of the account of the massacre as published by authority and prepared by Edward Waterhouse.

After relating the apparently friendly disposition of the Indians, the narrative says :

THE MASSACRE.

“The Country being in this [peaceful] estate, an occasion was ministred of sending to *Opachankano* the King of these Sauages, about the middle of *March* last, what time the Messenger returned backe with these words from him, That he held the peace concluded so firme, as the Skie should sooner fall than it dissolue: yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people who then had contriued our destruction, that euen two dayes before the Massacre, some of our men were guided thorow the woods by them in safety: and one *Browne*, who then to learne the language, liued among the *Warrascoyacks* (a Prouince of that King) was in friendly manner sent backe by them

to Captaine *Hamor* his Master, and many the like passages, rather increasing our former confidence, then any wise in the world ministring the least suspition of the breach of the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they borrowed our owne Boates to conuey themselues crosse the Riuer (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our Plantations were) to consult of the diuellish murder that ensued, and of one vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented: and as well on the Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22 of March as also in the euening, as in other dayes before, they came vnarmed into our houses, without Bowes or arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furrer, and other prouisions, to sell, and trucke with vs, for glasse, beades, and other trifles: yea in some places, sate down at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, eyther laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing eyther age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine in their cruell execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their seuerall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses, some in planting Corne, and Tobacco, some in gardening, some in making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry, they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to vs for trading and other negotiations, which the more wil-

¹ It was on Good Friday, April 18, 1644, that a second slaughter by the Indians occurred.

lingly was by vs continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great master-peece of workes, their conuersion.

“ And by this meanes that fatall Friday morning, there fell vnder the bloody and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all lawes of God and men, of Nature & Nations, three hundred forty-seuen men, women, and children, most by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe vpon the dead, making as well as they could, a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carkasses into many pieces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.”

A description is then given of their horrid murder of “ that worthy religious Gentleman, Master George Thorpe, Esquire, Deputie of the Colledge Lands.”

The narrative continues in these words: “ I will knit againe together now the thred of my Discourse, and proceed to tell you, That at the time of this Massacre there were three or foure of our ships in Iames-Riuer, and one in the next Riuer, and daily more to come in, as three did within fourteene dayes after; one of which they endeouored to haue surprised, but in vaine, as had also beene their whole attempt, had any the least fore-knowledge beene in those places where the Massacre was committed: * * *

* * * * * The Letters of M^r *George Sandis*, a worthy Gentleman and Treasurer there, likewise haue aduertised (as many others from many particular persons of note and worth) besides the Relations of many returned in the Sea-flower (the ship that brought vs this vnwelcome news) haue beene heard at large in the Publike Courts.”

* * * * * They certifie further, That besides Master *George Thorpe*, before mentioned, Master *John Berkeley*, Captaine *Nathaniel Powel*, and his wife, (daughter of Master *William Tracy*, and great with childe) and Captaine *Maycock*, all Gentlemen of birth, vertue, and industry, and of the Councell there, suffered vnder this their cruelty and treason. That the slaughter had been vniuersall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian belonging to one *Perry*, to disclose it, who liuing in the house of one *Puce*, was vrged by another Indian his Brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill *Puce* (so commanded by their King as he declared) as hee would kill *Perry*: telling further that by such an houre in the morning a number would come from diuers places to finish the Execution, who failed not at the time: *Perries* Indian rose out of his bed and reueales it to *Puce*, that vsed him as a Sonne: And thus the rest of the Colony that had warning giuen them, by this meanes was saued. Such was (God bee thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell conuerted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saued by the means of one of them alone which was made a Christian; Blessed be God for euer, whose mercy endureth for euer; Blessed bee God whose mercy is aboue his iustice, and farre aboue all his workes; who wrought this deliuerance whereby their soules escaped euen as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler.

“*Puce* upon this discouery, securing his house, before day, rowed ouer the Riuer to *Iumes-City* (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gaue notice thereof to the Gouvernor, by which meanes they were preuented

there, and at such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be giuen; for where they saw vs standing vpon our Guard, at the sight of a Peece they all ranne away."

In concluding the statement Waterhouse rejoices that the Indians are to be conquered. He says:

"Because the way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuilizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Ciuiltie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but ciuility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. Moreouer, victorie of them may bee gained many waies; by force, by surprize, by famine in burning their Corne, by destroying and burning their Boats, and Canoes, and Houses, by breaking their fishing weares, by assailing them in their huntings, whereby they get the greatest part of their sustenance in Winter, by pursuing and chasing them with our horses, and blood-Hounds to draw after them, and Mastiues to teare them, which take this naked, tanned, deformed Sauages for no other than wild beasts, and are so fierce and fell vpon them, that they feare them worse than their old Deuill which they worship, supposing them to be a new and worse kinde of Deuils then their owne."

LONDON COMPANY TO THE VIRGINIA COLONY UPON INTELLIGENCE
OF THE INDIAN MASSACRE, DATED AUGUST 1, 1622.

“To our very loving frends Sr. Francis Wyatt Knight,
Governor & Captaine generall of Virginia, and to the
rest of the Counsell of State there :

“After our very hartie comendations; Wee haue, to
o^r extreame grief, understood of the great Massacre exe-
cuted on o^r people in Virginia, and that in such a maner
as is more miserable than the death itself. To fall by
the hande of men so contemptible; to be surprised by
treacherie in a time of known danger; to be deafe to so
plaine a warning, as we now to late undrstand was last
yeare given; to be secure on an occaon of so great suspi-
tion and iealousie as was Nenemathanewe's death; not to
pceive any thing in so opne and generall conspiracie; but
to be made in parte instruments of contriving it, and
almost guiltie of the destrucon by a blindfold and stupid
entertaininge of it, wch the least wisdom or courage suf-
ficed to preuent euen on the point of execution, are cir-
cumstances that do add much to o^r sorrow, and make us to
confesse that it is the heauie hand of Allmightie God for
the punishment of o^r and yo^r transgressions; to the humble
acknowledgment and pfect amendment whereof, together
with orselues, we seriously aduise and inuite you, and in
particular earnestly require the speedie redress of those
two enormous excesses of apparell and drinkeing, the crie
whereof cannot but haue gon up to Heaven, since the in-
fame hath spredd itself to all that have but heard the
name of Virginia, to the detestation of all good minds, the
scorne of others, and o^r extreame grieve and shame. In the

strength of those faults undoubtedly, and the neglect of the Devine worshipping, have the Indians prevailed, more than in yo^r weaknes. Whence the euil therefore spring, the remedy must first begin, and an humble reconciliation be made with the Devine Ma^{ty}, by future conformitie unto His most iust and holie lawes, which doinge we doubt not but that you shall be safe from the hands of all yo^r enemies, and them that hate you, from whom, if God's protection be not with you, no strength of situation can saue you, and wth it, we conceiue not, but where you be, you may make yourselues as secure as in any other place whatsoeuer, and in all other respects the chaung cannot but be to the worst, may to the utter ouerthrow not only of all o^r labo^rs and changes the expectation of his Ma^{ty} and the whole State; wherefore you shall do well so wholie to abandon the thought thereof as in this point not to return us any answer; Spartam quam nactus es hanc exorna; than to applie all yo^r thoughts and endeuo^rs and in especiall to the setting upp of Staple comodities, according to those often instruccōs and reiterated aduises that wee haue continually giuen you, the want whereof hath been the truest obiection against y^e succeedinge of this Plantation and the greatest hindrance and impediment (as we conceiue) that his Ma^{ty} and the State haue not set to a more liberall hand to the furtherance thereof, but now at last it hath pleased God for the confirmation no doubt of o^r hopes and redoubling of o^r and y^{or} coradges, to encline his Ma^{ties} Royall heart to graunt the Sole importation of Tobacco (a thing long and earnestly desired) to the Virginia and Sumer Ilands Companies and that upon such condiçōs as the priuate profit of each man is likely to be much improued and the generall state of the Plantation

strongly secured, while his Ma^{ty} reuenue is so closely ioyned as together with the Collonie it must rise and faile, grow and empaire, and that not a small matter neither, but of twenty thousand pounds p. ann. (for the offer of so much in certainty hath his Ma^{ty} been pleased to refuse in fauor of the Plantations).

Four Hundred young Men to be sent.

“The good effects likely hence to ensue are to obuious for us to sett downe and phapps greater than we can imagine; they only in generall we may assure o’selues and yo^{rs}, that there shal be no iust fauo^r tending to the aduancement of the Plantacon that we may not hope from his Ma^{ty} who uppon o^r humble peticon and the mediation of the Lords of his most Hono^{ble} Priuie Counsell hath out of his Royall bountie been pleased to bestow uppon us diu^{rs} armes (although in these parts unseruiseable yett such as against the Indians may be uery usefull: w^{ch} we doubt not but by the Abigaile to send you; and are further put in an assured hope to obtaine the number of 400 young men well furnished out of England and Wales at 20^{ld} a person to repaire wth aduantage the number that is lost, to sett upp the publike reuenues of the Companie, and sattisfie the deserts of worthie persons in the Colony; this suplie we hope to procure, so as they may be wth you before the Spring.

Difficult to obtain Corn.

“The fear of y^{or} want of Corne doth much perplex us, seeing so little possibility to supply you, the publike stock being utterly as yo^r know exhausted and the last yeares aduentures made by priuate men not returned as was

promised, we haue no hope of raising any valuable Magazine but rather feare to see the effect of what we forwarned by the Warwick.

Self-Reliance urged.

“Other waies and meanes are so uncertaine as wee cannot wish you to rely uppon any thing but yo^r selues, yet shall there not be left any meanes unatempted on o^r parts in this kind and for other necessities to supplie you hoping that the danger of this extremitie will hence forward pswade you not to comitt the certainty of yo^r liues to the uncertainty of one haruest; and that at last you will und^rstand it is as fitt and necessarie to yeeld the return of Aduentures yearely as to receiue them;

Captain Each to builh a Fort.

“But of these things the Abigaile shall not only bring you further notice, but we hope in some part the pformance whose stay hath by these last newes been a little prolonged, but by the end of the month wee doubt not to dispatch her; o^r designes in her entertainment we aduised of by the Furtherance but now send it you more fully expressed in the Order of the Quarter Court; to the accomplishing whereof we earnestly desire you to applie yo^r uttermost endeours; although phapps it may proue in the effect of less consequence than we desire, and of greater difficultie in the execucon than is propounded; yet it cannot be but the bare name of a Forte will proue of more worth than the charges and paines required thereunto.

“The particularities of the pformance, we must reserue till the Shipp itself come, only now we thought necessarie to let yoⁿ und^rstand that the Company hath couenanted

uppon the effecting of the buissines to make the fraight of the Shipp homeward 800^{lb} w^{ch} they haue to pforme by the ladinge abroad of three score and four thousand waight of Tobacco at 3^d p lb, and at this price the generall Company, the Aduenturers of the old ioynt stock of Mr. Blaney's Magazine, of Southampton Hundred (who haue refused for their owne and the Collonies benefitt the imploying of the Discouerie in Virginia,) and of Martin's Hundred haue agreed and orderd that their Tobaco shal be brought home in the Abigaile, w^{ch} we desire you to take order may be pformed accordingly. The procuring of the rest to make up the former quantitie is the thing we are now most seriously to recomend unto yo^r cares w^{ch} uppon this timely aduise (before the coming of so many Shippes, things be forestaled) we doubt not you will verie easily effect, the price being so indifferent, the conueyance so safe and good, and the delay of a little time in the coming home of the Tobacco no disadvantage at all by reason of the contract that we haue lately concluded with his Ma^{tie} so that we doubt not, but by the volluntarie offers of priuate men you may raise the full quantitie for fraight w^{ch} otherwise by authoritie must be prouided, that neether the Company be dishonored by breach of their Couents with Capt. Each, nor much lesse be endangered in that w^{ch} for the Collonies good only they haue und^rtaken.

Large Emigration.

“ There come now ouer in the Shipp, and are imediately to follow in some others many hundreds of people, to whom as we here think o^rselues bound to giue the best encouragements for their goinge, in reguard (that in the want of a publique stock) there is no way left to encrease the

Plantation but by abundance of priuate und'takers ; So we thinke you obliged to giue all possible furtherance and assistance for the good entertaining and well settling of them that they may both thriue and prosper, and others by their welfare be drawne after them : This is the way that we conceiue most effectuall for the engaging of this State, and securing of Virginia, for in the multitude of people, is the strength of a kingdome ; The allotting out of pticular Diuidents, and the setlinge of priuate psons, we leaue (untill things may receiue a better sorce) unto yo^r wisdomes and iudgments not doubting but you will find out some course as shall giue content to reasonable minds : w^{ch} we very much desire may be down, as far as ciuill life and securitie will pmitt, both w^{ch} together wth religeon, by this inordinate stragglinge run hazard of perishinge ; w^{ch} error by so hard a chastizment we hope from henceforward they will be willing of themselues to amend, if not yo^r authoritie must restraine them, not suffering any to plant or sett down any where, but with so sufficient a number of able men and well prouided as may not in their owne, but in yo^r iudgements (who shal be therefore accountable) defend themselues from any assaults of the Indians : in w^{ch} regard as also for their better ciuill gouernment (w^{ch} mutuall Societie doth most conduce unto) wee think it fitt that the houses and buildings be so contriued together, as may make if not hansome Townes, yet compact and orderly villages ; that this is the most proper and successfull maner of proceedinge in new Plantaçons, besides those of former ages, the example of the Spaniards in the West Indies doth fully instance, and against it we do not conceiue there will be any repugnancie except from shallow understandings that cast not beyond the present : or from

minds and affeccons wholly intent to to the satisfieing of their priuate interests although wth the ruine of the publique State.

Abandoned Plantations.

“The relinquishing of Charles Cittie, Henerico, the Iron Works, the Colledg-lands and Martins hundred are things not only of discontent but of evill fame, although we doubt not undeserued; the replanting of them is of absolute necessitie, least the best fire that maintaines the accon here aliue be putt out, for Martins hundred we leaue to the Adventurer, to take such expedient course therein as themselves please, only the seconding thereof we most earnestly recomend unto you, but for the speedy restoringe of the rest we pray you to employ yo^r uttermost endeuo^r, and if the College Tennts and those belonging to the Iron Work shall not be sufficient (as we much doubt) to make these places good of themselves we desire you to propound these two condicons for the inuiting of priuate men, to a competent number to ioyn with them.

The Company's Land.

“First, to sett down upon the Companies Land occupieing and manuringe to their owne benefitt only, such quantitie thereof as they can manage untill such time as they may go upon there own Diuidents, when there shall by the Companies Tennts and Seruants be a full recompense and sattisfaccon made them in kind, for y^e clearing of ground, building of houses, and what euer other cost or charge they haue bestowed upon the Companies land, and must then leaue unto them. If this preuaile not (wch we chiefly wish) then are we content to giue to euery family

ten acres of land in those places wch you setting out we will confirme to them and their heires for euer, and this ten acres shall not be accompted in part of any other proportion due unto them, nor be any impediment to hinder them from going uppon their Diuidents when they please; conditionally, that the land be not left uncultivated and the houses uninhabited.

People left at Iron Works.

“The people remaining at the Iron-works we desire may be committed unto the charge of M^r Maurice Barkley to be employed (since we cannot hope that the worke should go forward in such manner as may be most beneficiall to themselves and us untill such time as we may againe resume that bussines so many times unfortunately attempted, and yett so absolute necessarie as we shall haue no quiett untill we see it perfected; to wch purpose we desire there may by the first oportunity be sent us a particular list of the names and professions of the men, as also a noat of the tooles and materialls wanting for the erecting of the worke.

College Affaires.

“Of no lesse waight do we esteeme the Colledge affaires wch we pray you to take into yo^r considerations, not only as a publique but a sacred bussines; and in pticular we very earnestly request the care and paines of M^r George Sandys for the settling and ordering of the Tennts; who being now by long experience growne skillful in all maners of the Countrie, we are informed it will not be lesse advantageous unto us and of farr more content to themselves to be left to their owne disposing and gouernment and to

reduce the uncertaintie of half to the certaintie of a Rent ; wch we haue therefore agreed shal be euery pson 20 bushells of corne ; 60 waight of good leafe tobacco, and one pound of Silke, to be yearly paid together wth six dayes labo^r in publike works, and ouer and aboue that they be bound to buildinge of conuenient houses plantinge of orchards, gardens etc on the College Land and not elsewhere : they that will accept of these Condiçons, you shall leaue to themselves but so as for better conueniencie of living fowr or at least three of them sorte themselues to work and liue together, and be bound each for other for the true pformance of their Couents ; those other that shall not be willing or worthie of such agreement we leaue to you to take the best order in disposinge of them ; as for those that shal be Artificers and of Manuall trades and occupaçons we conceiue that they may likewise pforme this bargaine although they follow their trades, wch rather than that they should not do, we leaue it to you to contract otherwise with them, as you shall thinke best, allways reseruing that their liuing shall be uppon ye Colledge Lands.

“ As for the Brick-makers we desire that they may be held to their contract made with M^r Thorpe, to the intent that when opportunitie shal be for the erecting of the fabricke of the Colledge, the materialls be not wanting. These are part of the remedies that are to be applied for the repaireing of this late disaster.

War of Extermination urged.

“ As for the Actors thereof, we cannot but wth much grieffe proceed to the condemnation of their bodies, the saving of whose Soules we have so zealously affected ; but since the inocent blood of so many Christians doth in jus-

tice crie out for revenge, and yo^r future securitie in wisdom require, we must advise you to roote out from being any longer a people so cursed, a nation ungratefull to all benefitts, and incapable of all goodnesse; at least to the removall of them so farr from you as you may not only be out of danger, but out of feare of them, of whose faith and good meaning you can never be secure. Wherefore, as they have merited, let them have a ppetual warre without peace or truce; and, although they have desired it, without mercie, too. Yet, remembering who we are rather than what they have been, we cannot but advise not only the sparing but the preservation of the yonger people of both Sexes, whose bodies may by labor and service become profitable, and their minds not overgrowne with evill Customes, be reduced to civilitie, and afterwards to Christianitie. And, because there is a necessitie not only in the thing itself, but in the speediness of effecting it, we think it fitt that, besides that certaine way of famishing, (whereunto, we doubt not, but you have ere this giuen a good beginning by the burning of their corne, or the reaping it to your owne benefitt,) you add and putt in execution all other waies and means of their destruction, not omitting so much as to provoke their neighbouring enemies (by the reward of beads and copper uppon the bringing in of their heads,) to the fierce pursuing of them, and that at such times especially as yourselves may issue out upon them likewise, which we think should be often don from all parts of the collony together. But for a full securing of yourselves, and a certain destroyinge of them, we conceive no meanes so proper nor expedient as to maintaine continually certaine bands of men of able bodies and inured to the Countrie, of stout minds and active hands, that may,

from time to time, in several bodies, pursue and follow them, surprising them in their habitations, interrupting them in their hunting, burning their Townes, demolishing their Temples, destroyinge their Canoes, plucking upp their weares, carrying away their corne, and depriving them of whatsoever may yeeld them succor or relief; by which means in a very short while both your just revenge and your perpetuall security might be certainly effected.

Soldiers to be supported.

“As for the maintanance of those men with vittuals and munition, we conceive it just and equall that it should be a generall levy throughout the whole Collony, in regarde whereof the one moyitie of the prise, as well of the psons of men for slaues should be unto the collony for fortification and other public uses, and the other moyitie divided amongst the Souldiars themselues. In further satisfaction of whose travells and hazards, we do purpose a liberall recompense out of the labors of those yong people which, by his Majestie's gracious favor, we hope to obtaine out of the severall Counties of this Kingdom, which, as it shall be bountifull to all, so it shall be redoubled to them, unto whose hands the principalls, either in execution or contrivement of this Treacherie, shall fall; but if any can take Opachancano himself, he shall have a great and singular reward from us.

“As for those Indians whom God used as instruments of revealing and preventing the totall ruine of you all, we think a good respect and recompense due unto them, which by a good and carefull education of them may best be expressed and satisfied, whereby they may be made capable of further benefitts and favors.

“ Wee send you a Copie of o^r Letters by the Furtherance wch wee doubt not but is safely long ere this arrived with you the suplies therein sent of Shipwrights and East India Schoole, we cannot but againe most effectually and earnestly recomend unto yo^r Care and fauors, wch phapps by the chang of things with you, they will the more need. The improving of the Companies reuenues & recouerie of their Debts, is of those things without w^{ch} neither we nor you can subsist.

“ Many other matters we haue to write if time would giue leaue, for want whereof, we must reserue them till the departure of the Abigaile. And now comitting you and all yo^r affaires to the good guard and protec^on of the Almightye we bid you hartily, farewell.

August the first

Yo^r very Louing frends

1622

The Treasurer & Counsell of Virginia.

Witnessed by M. Collingwood — Secr.¹

¹ Christopher Davison, secretary of the colony, died soon after the massacre, and there is reason to believe that he was the son of Sir William Davison, one of Queen Elizabeth's ambassadors, to whose legation William Brewster, afterwards one of the founders of New Plimouth, was in early life attached.



CHAPTER XV.

THE RELATION OF WATERHOUSE.

TO allay the panic in England, caused by the news of the Massacre, a member of the Company, Edward Waterhouse, distinguished for integrity, and a religious spirit, published a small quarto of 54 pages, entitled

“A Declaration of the State of the Colonie, and affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the barbarous Massacre in the time of peace and league, treacherously executed upon the English by the Native Infidels, 22 March last.”

The treatise opened with the following dedicatory letter:

“To the Hon^{table} Companie of Virginia Right Honorable and Worthy:

“The fame of our late vnhappy accident in *Virginia*, hath spread it selfe, I doubt not, into all parts abroad, and as it is talked of of all men, so no question of many, and of most, it cannot but be misreported, some carried away with ouer-weak lightnesse to beleeeue all they heare, how vntrue soeuer; others out of their disaffection possibly to the Plantation, are desirous to make that, which is ill, worse; and so the truth of the Action, which is only one, is varied and misreported. I haue thought it therefore a part of some acceptable seruice in me towards you, whose fauors haue preferred me to be a member of your *Company*, to present you with these my poore labours, the *Collection*

of the truth hereof, drawne from the relation of some of those that were beholders of that *Tragedie*, and who hardly escaped from tasting of the same cup, as also from the Letters sent you by the *Gouvernour* and other *Gentlemen* of quality, and of the *Councell* in that Colonie, read openly here in your Courts: That so the world may see that it was not the strength of a professed enemy that brought this slaughter on them, but contriued by the perfidious treachery of a false-hearted people, that know not God nor faith. No generous spirit will forbear to goe on for this accident that hath hapned to the Plantation, but proceed rather chearfully in this honorable Enterprize, since the discovery of their brutish falshood will proue (as shall appeare by this Treatise following) many waies aduantageable to vs, and make this forewarning a forearming for euer to præuent a greater mischief.

“Accept it from me, I most humbly beseech you, as the first fruits of my poore seruice. Time may happily make me able to yeeld you some other worke whose subiect may bee Ioy, as this is a Theame of Sadnesse: Meane time, I commit You and the *Noble Colony* to Gods good blessing, as he that shall alwaies be.

“A true Votarie for your happinesse,
and seruant to your commands,
EDWARD WATERHOUSE.”

The account of the Colony prefixed to the narrative of the Massacre, was the best of the several that had been prepared for the use of the Company. After speaking of the advantages of the direct northern route to the Atlantic coast, he adds:

“ Which (with the Blessing of God) produced in the last Summer this effect, that in the Fleet of nine Saile of ships, transporting aboue seauen hundred Passengers out of *England* and *Ireland*, for the Plantation, but one person (in whose roome another at Sea was borne) miscarried by the way. And for them after arriual, there are conuenient lodgings now in building, and carefull attendance in Guests-houses prouiding, till those that ariue can provide for themselves.

“ In the three last yeares of 1619, 1620, and 1621, there hath beene provided and sent for Virginia forty-two Saile of ships, three thousand five hundred and seauenty men and women for Plantation, with requisite prouision, besides store of Cattle, and in those ships haue beene aboue twelue hundred Mariners imployed: there hath also beene sent in those yeares nine ships to the *Sommer Islands* with about nine hundred people to inhabite there, in which ships two hundred and forty Mariners were imployed. In which space haue beene granted fifty Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in Virginia, who with their associates haue undertaken therein to transport great multitudes of people and cattell thither, which for the most part is since performed, and the residue now in preparing, as by the seuerall Declarations of each yeare in their particulars; (manifested and approved in our generall and publike Quarter-Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desirous to vnderstand the particularities of such proceedings, hath beene by printing commended to the understanding of all.

Voyage up the Potomac.

“Furthermore, they write that in a Voyage made by Lieutenant *Marmaduke Purkinson*, and other English Gentlemen, up the Riuer of *Putomack* they saw a *China-Boxe* at one of the Kings houses where they were: Being demanded where he had it, made answer, That it was sent him from a King that dwelt in the *West* ouer the great Hils, some tenne dayes journey, whose Countrey is neare a great Sea, hee hauing that Boxe, from a people as he said, that came thither in ships, that weare cloaths, crooked swords, and somewhat like our men, dwelt in houses, and were called *Acanack-China*: and he offered our people, the he would send his Brother along with them to that King, which offer the Gouvernor purposed not to refuse; and the rather, by reason of the continual constant relations of all those *Sauages* in Virginia, of a Sea, and the way to it *West*, the affirming that the heads of all those seauen Riuer of *Thames*, and nauigable aboue and hundred and fifty miles, and not aboue sixe or eight miles one from another, which fall all into one great Bay, haue their rising out of a ridge of hils, that runnes all a long South and North: whereby they doubt not but to find a safe, easie and good passage to the South Sea, part by water, and part by land, esteeming it not aboue an hundred an fifty miles from the head of the Falls, where wee are now planted; the Discouery whereof will bring forth a most rich trade to *Cathay*, *China*, *Japan*, and those other of the *East Indies*, to the inestimable benefit of this Kingdome.

But for the further prooffe thereof, and of the North-west passage thither by Sea, I referre the Reader to the Treatie annexed at the end of this Booke, written by that learned

and famous *Mathematician*, *M^r Henry Briggs*, which I hau-
ing happily attained unto, haue published for the common
good.

Falling Creek Iron Works.

“Moreouer, the Letters of *M^r John Berkeley*, sometimes
of *Beuerstone Castle* in the County of *Glocester*, (a Gentle-
man of an honorable familie) likewise certifie, that a more
fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Master and
ouerseer) then in Virginia, both for woods, water, mynes,
and stone, was not to be found: And that by Whitsontide
then next (now past) the Company might relye upon good
quantities of Iron made by him: which also by Letters
from *M^r George Sandis* the third of *March* last, was con-
firmed, with this farther description of the place (called
TheFalling Creeke) to be so fitted for that purpose, as if
Nature had applyed herselfe to the wish and direction of
the workeman; where also were great stones hardly seene
else-where in Virginia, lying on the place, as though they
had beene brought thither to aduance the erection of
those Workes.

Settlement in Upper Chesapeake Bay.

o/ “The Letters of *M^r P^{re}rey* (verified also from the *Gou-
ernor* and Councill) aduertised of a late Discouery by him
and others made into the great Bay North-ward, (reseruing
the founding of the bottome thereof for a second Voyage,)
where hee left settled very happily neare an hundred Eng-
lish, with hope of a good trade for Furrer there to be had.
From thence was brought by *Lieutenant Perkinson*, in his
voyage, some of that kind of Earth which is called *Terra
Lemniu* (there to be had in great abundance) as good as
that of *Turkey*.

"Here following is set downe a true List of the names of all those that were massacred by the treachery of the Sauages in Virginia, the 22nd March last.

"To the end that their lawfull heyres may take speedy order for the inheriting of their lands and estates there: For which the honourable Company of Virginia are ready to doe them all right and fauour.

At Captaine Berckleys Plantation seated at Falling Creeke, some 66 miles from James-Citie in Virginia.

John Berkley Esquire.	Robert Horner Mason.
Thomas Brasington.	Philip Barnes.
John Sawyer.	William Swandal.
Roger Daud.	Robert Williams, his Wife and Childe.
Francis Gowsh.	Giles Bradshawe, his Wife and Childe.
Bartholmew Peram.	John Howlet, and his sonne
Giles Peram.	Thomas Wood, and Collins his man.
John Dowler.	Joseph Fitch, apothecary to Doctor Pots.
Laurence Dowler.	
Lewis Willians.	
Richard Bascough.	
Thomas Holland.	
John Hunt.	

At Master Thomas Sheffield Plantation, some three miles from the Falling Creeke.

Master Th: Sheffield, ¹ and Rachel his wife.	Robert Tyler a boy. Mathew ———.
John Reeue.	Judeth Howard.
William Tyler a boy.	Thomas Poole.
Samuel Reeue.	Methusalem ———.
John Ellen.	Thomas Taylor.
	William Tyler.

¹The son of William Sheffield.

At Henrico Iland about two miles from Sheffields Plantation.

— Atkins.	William Perigo.
— Weston.	Owen Jones, one of Capt.
Philip Shatford.	Berkleys people.

Slaine of the Colledge People, about two miles from Henrico-Citie.

Samuel Stringer.	Thomas Cooke.
George Soldan.	John Clements.
William Basset.	James Faulkoner.
John Perry.	Christopher Henley.
Edward Ember.	Willian Jordan.
Jarrat Moore.	Robert Daus.
Thomas Xerles.	Thomas Hobson.
Thomas Freeman.	William Baily.
John Allen.	

*At Apo-mattucke River at Master Abraham Pierce his Plantation some
five miles off the Colledge People.*

William Charte.	John Barker a boy.
Jo: Waterhowse.	Robert Yeoman.

At Charles-Citie and about the Precincts of Capt. Smiths Company.

Roger Royal.	Edward Heydon.
Thomas Jones.	Henry Bushel.
Robert Maruel.	

At other Plantations next adioyning.

Richard Plat, and his Brother.	his Childe, and his Sister.
Henry Milward, his wife,	Richard a boy. Goodwife Redhead.

At Mr. William Farrars House.

Master John England	William her sonne,
and his Man.	Thomas his Man.
John Bel.	James Woodshaw.
Henricke Peterson, and	Mary and }
Alice his Wife, and	Elizabeth, } Maid serants.

At Berkley-Hundred some five miles from Charles-Citie.

Capt. George Sharpe Esq.	Giles Wilkins.
one of his Maiesties	Giles Bradway.
Pentioners.	Richard Fereby.
John Rowles.	Thomas Sharpe.
Richard Rowles, his Wife,	Robert Jordan.
and Childe.	Edward Painter.

At Westouer, about a mile from Berkley-Hundred.

And first at Cap. Fr. Wests Plantation :

James English.	Richard Dash.
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At Master John Wests Plantation :

Christopher Turner.	Dauid Owen.
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At Capt. Nathanael Wests :

Michael Aleworth.	John Wright.
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An Lieutenant Gibs his Dividend :

John Paly.	Richard Wainham.
Thomas Ratcliffe.	Benomy Keyman.
Michael Booker.	Thomas Gay.
John Higglet.	James Vpfall.
Nathanael Earle.	Daniel - Mr Dombe-
John Gibbes.	lowes man.
William Parker.	

At Mr. Richard Owens house.

Richard Owen.	One old Maid called
Stephen Dubo.	blinde Margaret.
Francis, an Irishman.	William Reeue.
Thomas Paine.	

At Master Owen Macars house.

Owen Macar.	Richard Yeaw.
Garret Farrel.	One Boy.

At Master Macocks Dividend.

Capt. Samuel Macock	Thomas Browne.
Esquire.	↓ John Downes.
Edward Lister.	

At Flowerdieu-Hundred Sir George Yeardleys Plantation.

John Philips.	Robert Taylor.
Thomas Nuson.	Samuel Jarret.
John Braford.	Elizabeth Bennet.

At the other side of the River opposite to Flowerdieu-Hundred.

Master Hobson, and	Thomas Philips.
his Wife.	Richard Campion.
Richard Storks.	Anne Greene.
John Slaughter.	

At Mr. Swinhowe his House.

Mistris Swinhow, and	Richard Mosse.
Thomas and	John Larkin.
George Shinhew her	William Blyth.
sonnes.	Thomas Grindal.

At Mr. William Bikars house.

William Bykar.	Edward Peirce.
Math : Hawthorn	Nicholas Howsdon.
and his Wife.	

At Weynoack of Sir George Yeardley his people.

Nathanael Eliè.	Henry Haynes.
John Flores.	John Blewet.
Henry Gape.	Henry Rice.
—— Buckingham.	—— Hurt.
William Puffet.	Jonas Alpart.
William Walker.	Thomas Stephens.
John Gray.	Samuel Goodwine.
James Boate.	John Snow, and
John Suersby.	his Boy.
Thomas Euans.	Margery Blewet.
Thomas ap-Richard.	

At Powle-Brooke.

Capt. Nath : Powle	Thomas Woolcher.
Esq. and his Wife,	William Meakins.
Daughter to M ^r Tracy.	Robert ——.
Mistris Bray.	Peter Jordan.
Adam Rayners Wife.	Nathanael Leydon.
Barbara Burges.	Peter Goodale.
William Head.	

At Southampton-Hundred.

Robert Goffe, and	John Dauis.
his Wife.	William Mountfort.
William Larkum.	

At Martin Brandons.

Lieutenant Sanders.	his Wife
Ensigne Sherley.	2 Boyes.
John Taylor, and	Mathew a Polander.

At Captaine Spilmans house.

John Basingthwayte.	Walter Shawe.
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At Ensigne Spence his house.

William Richmond.	William Fierfax.
John Fowler.	The Tinker.
Alexander Bale.	

Persons slaine at Martins-Hundred some seaven miles from James-Citie.

Lieutenant Rich : Kean.	Richard Staples,
Master Tho : Boise, &	his wife
Mistris Boise his wife, &	and Childe.
a sucking Childe,	2 Maides
4 of his men	6 Men and Boyes
A Maide	Walter Dauies, &
2 Children	his brother
Nathanael Jefferies wife	Christopher Guillam
Margaret Dauies	Thomas Combar
3 Seraunts	A Man
Master John Boise	Ralphe Digginson
his Wife.	his Wife
A Maide.	Richard Cholfer
4 Men-seruants	George Jones
Laurence Wats,	Cisby Cooke,
his Wife	his Wife
2 Men seruants	Dauid Bons

Timothy Moise,	John Benner
his Man	John Mason
Henry Bromage,	William Pawmet
his Wife,	Thomas Bats
his Daughter,	Peter Lighborrow
his Man.	James Thorley
Edward How,	Robert Walden
his Wife,	Thomas Tolling
his Childe.	John Butler
A child of John Jackson,	Edward Rogers
4 Men seraunts	Maximilian Russel
Josua Dary,	Henry a Welchman
his Wife,	

At Mr Thomas Peirce his house over against Mulberry Iland.

Master Tho : Peirce,	John Hopkins
his Wife,	John Samon
and Childe	A French boy

At Mr Edward Bennets Plantation.

Master Th : Brewood	2 Seraunts
his Wife,	Thomas Ferris
his Childe	George Cole
Robert Gray	Remember Michel
John Griffin	—— Bullocke
Ensigne Harrison	Richard Chandler
John Costard	Henry Moore
Dauid Barry	Nicholas Hunt
Thomas Sheppard	John Corderoy
Henry Price	Richard Cockwell
Robert ——	John Howard
Edward Jolby	Mistris Harrison
Richard ——	Mary Dawks

Alice Jones	Annie English
Thomas Cooke	Rebecca ———
Philip Worth	Master Prowse
Mathew a maid.	Hugh ———
Francis Winder	John ———
Thomas Conly	Edward ———
Richard Woodward	Mistris Chamberlin
Humfrey Copen	Parnel a maid
Thomas Bacon	Humfrey Sherbrooke
Euan Watkins	John Wilkins
Richard Lewis	John Burton
Edward Towse	

John Scotchmore	} M ^r John Pountis his men.	
Edward Turner		
Edward Brewster,		Lieutenant Pierce his men.
Thomas Holland,		Capt. Whittakers man.

At Master Walters his house.

Master Edward Walters	a Maid
his wife,	a Boy.
a Childe,	

The whole number 347.



CHAPTER XVI.

THIRD YEAR OF SOUTHAMPTON'S DIRECTORSHIP CONTINUED,
SEPTEMBER 5, 1622 UNTIL JUNE 25, 1623. ALSO EXTRACTS
FROM THE TRANSACTIONS UNTIL JUNE 1624.

ELEANOR PHILLIPS TAKES A CONVICT TO VIRGINIA.



EPT. 5, 1622. "M^r Deputy further acquainted the Court that he had receaved a warrant signed by sundry Lords of his Ma^y Priuy Councell directed to the Treasurer and Deputy of this Companie requiringe one Dan : Francke (a malefactor re-preiued) be sent to Virginia (from whence he may not returne into any of his Ma^y Dominions without speaciall license obtained under six of the Counsell's hands) w^{ch} Francke had consented to serue in Virginia one Elianor Phillips that nowe goes over with him, in consideraçon whereof the said Phillips offers to paye for his passage if the Companie please to permitt the said Franke to goe : Whereupon the Court ordered he should be sent to Virginia accordinge to the Lord's order, and should be put aboard the Southampton, and comitted to the charge of M^r James Chester, Captaine of the said Shippe bound for Virginia to deliuer him in Virginia, according to his directions.

COMPANY'S LETTER, OCT. 7, 1622, TO GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA.

"After o' very hartie Comendaçons: Wee had not thought to haue written unto yo^e till wee had been inuited by your

letters unto us : but the necessitie of some thinge to be pformed by yo^a hath made us think it necessarie to remember them in an extraordinarie maner, and to reinforce by Instrucōns and charge of the Counsell, by the advise and desires of us ye Company

“The late calamities that haue befallne do much grieue but no whit daunt us, for we see no danger but rather advantage to be made thereby, nor any further daunger except it be in yo^r feares wch would nowe be as vitious as yo^r former securitie and as much betray you to destruction : for as you may see the increase of our hopes and courage in the largenes of supplies now sent by priuate men, since the publike is not able unto the continuance whereof we see such a disposition in mens minds as we cannot but think that the seeding of this blood will be the Seed of the Plantation, for the addiōn of price hath much endeared the purchase

Sharp Revenge Advised.

“And now to all the rest, we conceaue it a Sinne against the dead to abandon the enterprize, till we haue fully settled the possession for wch so many of o^r Brethren haue lost their liues ; this is the first thing due from us and you ; and the next is a sharp reuenge uppon the bloody miscreants euen to the measure that they intended against us, the rooting them out for beinge longer a people uppon the face of the Earth ; for the effecting whereof as you haue already receaued aduise from the Counsell (wch we desire you in all points to follow) so you shall now receaue a gracious supplie from his most excellent Ma^{ty} of Armes and weapons fitt and prop. for such seruice : The disposinge of them to psons and places we leaue to yo^r iudgments, but

only for vse; the proprietie must remaine to the generall Collony as the begining of a Publique Armorie, and a perpetuall testimony of his Ma^y royall bountie and fauo^r: from wch wee hope very speedily to obtaine the meanes of restoring the Publique, rewarding the good deserts of all, especially whose worke shal be shewed in these psent difficulties, and fully to furnish the number of Tennts, which in yo^r the Governor and other officers places we und^rstand are wanting not only to o^r grieffe but wonder. But both for the future and that wch is past, rest assured we shall provide and make satisfac^ōn

Planting of Corn urged.

“ And had ere this donn in a very aduantageable maner unto yo^r instead of Tennts, sending you seruants, had not yo^r last letters disclaymed them, without such supply of corne and vittual as was impossible for vs to provide through o^r pouertie, and its high price: wherefore the hundred youths wch wth 500^l we had procured from the Cittie, wee were constrained to giue unto the Sumer Ileands Company to their benefitt and o^r damage, and all through want of corne: The abundant planting and prouision whereof haueing been for these last foure yeares so continually urged from us and yett as constantly neglected and contemned, giues iust cause to doubt (and the more through the two strang proposicions wch we heare of late haue beene made of ingrossinge all and leauing all :) that there hath been in some (in whom it ought least to haue beene) an intent to hinder the encrease of the Plantation further then it might be their own gaine and greatnesse: a horrible Cryme and treason euen against God himself, to whom this great work in o^r intents is principally conse-

crated; and yett such courses force us allmost to such suspicon :

Directions to Governor Wyatt.

“Neither shall we belieue otherwise of you S^r Francis Wyatt and the rest in whom we yett haue great confidence except the Collony and Plantation be from henceforth by yo^r courage, cares and endea^u kept and maintained and euery principall part thereof where formerly it was, and that in abundance of grayne and vittual; wch since the Savadges enmitie could not hinder in the Collonies weakest infancie we canot thinke it can now do, when the strength thereof is almost ten times doubled, except we should thinke you lesse then they were : but we on the contrary haue such confidence in yo^r vallors and wisdome, that we hope to und^rstand as suddaine an end of this warr, as it had an unexpected beginninge beinge pswaded theire owne terrors will driue them away, except yo^r retaine them.

Importance of Watchfullness.

“As for enemies of equall condiçon in Armes and understanding, and more mightier in power than yo^r selues we know none, and in God feare none : yett we thinke it yo^r dutie to stand alwaies uppon yo^r guard, and prepared for defeate as much as yo^r may, the rest God will supplie if you serue him.

Discipline to be maintained.

“Abundance of Munition, wch yo^r selues must take care that both the Publique and Priuate be allwaies well stored, wth the exercising and training upp of the people in Martiall Discipline, and carefull preservation of theire Armes

wherein there must needs haue been unanswerable neglect: if there be that want yo' letters imply, are things obuius that we need not further touch :

Raising of Staple Commodities.

“To these we desire you to take into yo' consideration the continuall maintainance of good Shipping in the Riuer ; wch might easily be effected, if by raysinge of any Staple Comodities they might haue some part of freight homeward, a little would suffice, such is the danger and pouertie of all Marchants employments, that the certaintie of very smale gaine would inuite Shipping in abundance, of all times in the yeare to transport people for Virginia, wch would not only serue by the accommodatinge of euery mans occaçons to further great numbers: but also by a necessary engagement of those to whom the Shipping belongs cause many large Aduentures to be made and much people to be sent that otherwise would neuer go :

“We pray you seriously therefore to endeauo' it, and to take into yo'. consideration what dependance good things haue one upon another, and how a right and orderly proceeding brings all enterprises to pfecçon, seeing the following of Staple Comodities doth not only tend to the conueniences of well liuing there, and to the riches of them that raise them, but bringeth along with it not only the encrease of y^e Plantation, but also the defence and securitie thereof: euery Shipp being a Bullwark; and because by the same meanes they that meane you harme can only offend you, we thought it necessarie aboue all things to secure the Riuer from suddaine Inuasion by Shipping :

Block House at Blunt Point.

“To wch purpose haueinge fruitlessly attempted, all though by the meanes of very noble Pursonages, who were best able to effect itt, what hath in the name of the Collony beene so often and importunatly requested, the sending of Enginers, we haue gladly embraced the offer of Capt Each concerning the erectinge of a Block-house about Blunt Point, whereunto we were pswaded and entreated by the aduise and desires of almost all that know that Countrie, as well Planters as Seamen as a thing very feazable and of great benefitt. Whereuppon although the attention of mens mynds uppon the first news of the late Callametie, and much more yo’ griueous apprehension of itt brought it into consultation whether it were not impossible to make those preparations and prouision that on o’ parts weare requisite thereto, yett we resolved to go on wth o’ former deliberation, and haue (though wth extreame difficultie and hazard) by Gods blessing effected whatsoeuer we intended.

“Now that you on yo’ parts faile not to pforme and accomplish the thing itself we desire, entreat, and euen aduise you for yo’ owne sakes, for o’, for yo’ safty, for yo’ reputation, and for the sattisfaction of all good mynds who are in a longing expectation thereof: If the difficulties proue greater than we here conceiued; in the wrestling with them will be tryall of yo’ courages, and in the ouercoming of them, the encrease of yo’ honors. If the worke proue not of that consequence as is ptended yet it will alwayes be more worth than the labor and cost that is thereto required, and ye remonstrance of yo’ willingness to pforme what you can to yo’ own safety will effectually moue and

prouide (wee doubt not) the meanes to pforme fully what you desire: to speake plainly we shall neuer belieue, nor dare to attempt any thing of great engagement and hazard, till by reall example of some extraordinarie worke by you effected, we may haue prooffe of the sinceritie of yo' intentions and assurance not to be deluded and frustrated as we haue hitherto beene in so great and chargeable undtakings. Performe in this, and you cannot further require, what we will not und' take for you in this kind; if this of itself proue not sufficient, wch we will hope.

Colonists to assist in building a Fort.

“ The Adventurers of Martins Hundred haue very worthely made offer, and ordered their officers that the fifte part of their hundred be from time to time employed in this worke, till it may be pfected: Southampton Hundred haue followed the example and generally all priuate Aduenturers of vs that haue people in Virginia, very willingly agree to the like proporcon; this tax we haue here made, not to giue you thereby authority (wch needed not) but to giue a good example to the rest of the Collony, by taking more of the burden then can be proporconable can be due unto us, then fully to supply the rest that shal be needfull. This disposition of myndes we assure o'selues you shall find, if not, you must make it, and compell them to their owne good that will not otherwise understand it, but we hope there shall be no such occaçon giuen, considering the marueilous forwardnes of the Colony in this kind by many letters expressed: the remembrance whereof brings to mynd the noble offer made by S^r George Yeardley, worthie the place he bore, to whom we must acknow-

ledge the honor of this proposiçon first moueing, and accordingly doubt not but in the furtherance of ye execuçon of it, he will deserue both yo' and o' thanks in an especiall manner.

Return Freight of the Ship.

“The Shipp and Mariners employment as you find in the Charter-partie is to be discharged by a freight of 800^l, and that to be raysed by lading aboard of 64000 waight of Tobacco at 3^d p^d att wch rate besides the Generall Companyes it is agreed and ordered by the seuerall societies and the Aduenturors of Southampton hundred, the old Magazine, and last yeares Joynt Stock, and that now sent both consigned to M^r Ed : Blany, the Glasse, the Furrs, the Mayds, the Shipwrights, that their Tobacco shal be laden aboard and sent home in the Abigaile, and if it shal be thought necessarie by the officers and factors to send home any of it before, that then there shal be lefte in the hands of M^r George Sandys the Treasuror, the fifteenth pound of Tobacco (and more if that will not sattisfie) towards the making upp of the 800^l wch is to be paid the Shipp and for other necessarie uses of the Colony; unto the same condiçons do all priuate Aduenturers likewise agree, conditonally you hold the same course uppon all the Tobacco through the Land; wch we hold very equall and indeed necessarie to be done if you cannot find better meanes for the discharge of such payment, as the Company hath couented to Capt Each, wch being plainly expressed in the Charter-party sent you we shall not need to repeat but only to desire yo' especiall care, so to order and dispose things as we be not dishonored nor endamaged any way, nor any thinge lefte to us here to pay: and likewise for

satisfaccon and payment of the materialls now sent for the erectinge of the forte, we haue alwaies been promised by the Colony to be sattisfied and repaid, and now so much the more strictly to be obserued because they be aduentures of diuers priuate men who for the furtherance of this worke seeing the Companies inabilitie haue made prouision of the things and consigned them to M^r Blany wth order not to dispose of any of them till the forte be serued: this their good mynds deserue yo^r especiall care that they may be reimbursed of this charge.

The Magazine.

“And now we come to the returning of yo^r Magazine and Aduentures now and formerly sent in wch we are extremely solicitous, not so much for o^r owne Interesses (although they be great) as for yo^r wch be farr more: for us wee hope God will otherwise repay, if you do not, but for you we cannot conceaue, but that as you justly deserue yo^r will be cleane leaft and abandoned for any supplies hereafter; and what danger that may be, yo^r present necessities speake wch because they were not last yeare fore-seene, no regard was had of returning any thing nor beliefe; to the protestation wch at o^r desire the Counsell in their letters by the Warwick made, wch we cannot but remember to o^r grieffe, though to o^r justification: lett the smart of sence now teach, what on the credit of o^r words you would not learne, that yo^r gaines to yo^r damage by thus gaining tyme, and that the returning of o^r Stock home so much empaiRED howeare it be pleasant unto you for awhile, will in the end be more bitter untc you then us: speedy and full returnes must be made else it is impossible for us to proceed on, not so much for unwillingness, as o^r

inabilities, o' Aduentures are greater, then we can now beare, much lesse, increase. This scant supplie wch is now sent had been impossible to haue been raised, if either the necessity that required it, or the pawne that yo' offer had been lesse; the preservation of the whole Colony, and the Reuenues of the whole; or if the securitie had been worse than the faith of you the Gouvernor, Treasuror, and Counsell, or the dilligence and importunitie of them that labored it here, lesse then indefatigable, and such as would receiue no nay, you had wanted euen all, that you shall now God willing receaue: Wee send you the Rolle of Subscription to give you euidence hereof. The multitude of Aduentures and maner of bringing in mony to all good understanding, demonstrate that thinges are at the bottom, except the currant be againe restored from Virginia. Wee haue no more in this point to add, but that as we see it, the restles labor of those that here beare office, by procuring Aduentures to supplie ye Colony so wee thinke it should be yo^r to provide that by profitable returnes they may be enabled and encouraged to continue it.

“The Companies great pouertie, and many debts keeps us infinitely perplexed and more because there are dayly ineuitable occaõs of expence and no ground or hope of Reuenues except from Virginia: we therefore most earnestly intreat you seriously to endeauor the improuinge of the Companies reuenues there, and in pticular that the debts due uppon the 50 youths sent in the Dutie and others may be wthout faile recouered and sent home this yeare: wherein we especially require the care and dilligence of M^r George Sandys whose charge it is; and haue accordingly ordered that there should be pticular Instrucõs

giuen by the Auditors and Bookeeper in this point, to wch we referr.

Sassafras wanted.

“ We think it very fitt that you send home by the Abigaile 60000 waight of Sassafras, in regard she is to bring it freight free, what shal be made thereof assure yo’selues shall according to our promise be returned in Armes and Munition, or otherwise expended in fortification as yo’selues shall desire. But we pray you in no sort to rely uppon that for the payment of Capt Each in any part, much lesse in whole ; in regard the price is so base and the glutt so great that it will not sell but at very long time and that for very little.

Grievances.

“ There haue been many Petiçons putt up unto us of greeuances for wrongs by uniust factors and ptners in Virginia, and of claymes to lands and goods by the late death of frends ; all wch together with o’ desires under them we haue orderd to be sent you, to see that iustice be fully and speedily pformed, and an accompt of all yo’ proceedings endorsed uppon the back of the Petiçons with all conueniencie returned : that by the relief of the oppressed and helpinge of the poor and needy you may gaine fauo’ both wth God and men.

People for Martins Hundred.

“ The Adventurers of Martins hundred haue now sett forth a verie chargeable supply of people for the reposessing of theire Plantation ; the thing is very pretious to us that und’stand the seasonableness of it, and see what ad-

uantage of reputation the whole bussines of the Plantation hath receaued by their good example of courage and constancie, wch is more remarkable by the abundance of difficulties they haue overpast: we cannot but herein acknowledge a singular obligation of o' selues and all that loue the Plantation unto them wch if you do, we desire you to expresse it by the furthering and assisting their people and affaires wth all the fauor and help that you possibly may: And as this great body, so likewise we think it o' duty to recommend unto you all the pticular Planters that now come ouer: desiringe you that the abundance of yo' loues and cares, may be to the setling and disposing of them as much as may be to their content, but certainly to their safety and welfare.

Concluding Remarks.

“These are the things that we haue thought good to remember thus unto you, and for discharge of o' duty to require at yo' hands: The manteyning of the Plantation by yo' courage and the prouidinge for the plenty of it by yo' industrie, by yo' wisdom, and by this psent worke of the forte, to secure yo' selues from enemies, and from the famine and nakednes by a iust retribution of profitt to yo' frends; that you be carefull of the publique reuenues without wch yo' priuate cannot long flourish, and that yo' do iustice and right as yo' desire to receaue it; that with loue and care you entertaine them that come unto you with xpectaçon thereof; and now lastly that you cary upright and sinceare mynd, and go on forward with constancie in good, and patience in euill: So shall no doubt Gods blessing be uppon you to the pspering of all yo' enterprises, and the rewarding of yo' deserts. Giuen in a great and gene-

ral Court held for Virginia the 7th of October 1622. And ordered to be signed by the Deputy and witnessed by the Secretary in the name of the Company.

Subscribed by

NICHOLAS FERRAR, Deputy.

ED : COLLINGWOOD, Secretary.

NEED OF A PASSENGER REGISTER.

Oct. 23. " M^r Deputy further acquainted the Court that diuers of the Counsell and Companie had of late obserued some erors and defaults in the transportinge of persons and goods w^{ch} if there were not some timely remedy for preuention would breed much wronge to the priuate Planters that goe ouer, and hereafter great trouble and vexaçon to this Court: The points were three: First that diuers Shippes now goeing daylie (as well from London as other parts) without any further Referrance to the Companie than a Commission from them, there was no note or Register kept of the names of the persons transported whereby himself and the other officers were not able to giue any satisfacçon to the persons that did daylie and howerly enquire after their frends gon to Virginia, to the great discontent of people here, and that this likewise would proue a thinge of great trouble and molestaçon to the Court when after the expiraçon of 1624 either the persons themselues transported or their heires should come to clame their diuisions of lands the Companie huainge no ground to knowe what or why any thinge should be due unto them but their owne wordes.

D^r DONNE TO PREACH ANNUAL SERMON.

“M^r Deputy signified unto the Companie, it was not unknowne unto them that amongst the many worthie Guifts bestowed on the Plantacon there was the last yeare giuen by a person refusinge as yet to be named 40^e p. Ann. for euer (and thereupon an order established) for a sermon to be preached before the Virginia Companie euey Micha^e Terme or Wednesday fortnight before the last Wednesday in the said Terme, Hee therefore moued to knowe their pleasure whome they would entreat to preach the said Sermon: Whereupon some proposinge the Dean of Paules, the Court without naminge any other, did verie much desire he might be entreated thereunto, hoping he would please upon their generall request signified unto him, to undertake the paines and the rather for that he was a Brother of this Companie and of their Counsell, In considrance whereof the Court praid

S^r JO: DAUERSM^r BINGE &S^r PHIL, CARYM^r DEPUTY

to sollicite him earnestly hereunto in the name of the Companie; wch they promised to performe and for the place where the Sermon is to be preached The Court haue made choise of S^t Michaell's Church in Cornehill as the most conuenient.¹

¹ John Donne's sermon was preached before the Company in November, from Acts, i, 8. It is one of the best specimens of his style, abounding in quaint conceits, startling figures, pedantic quotations, faithful exhortations and pointed appeals. In concluding the sermon he cheers the members by alluding to the great work performed in the beginning of a Church and Commonwealth in America, where their child-

Annual Supper.

"After w^{ch} sermon ended, it is also thought fitt and agreed the Custome they begun the last yeare shalbe continued namely to supp together, and for that cause haue entreated M^r Caswell and M^r Mellinge (who last time so well pformed it to all the Companies content being assigned with M^r Bennett and M^r Rider to be Stewards this yeare also, for providinge and orderinge of the supper, and buisines thereunto belonging and of the place where it shalbe kept, and accordingly to giue notice thereof unto all the Companie by sendinge the Officer with Ticketts that are to be printed for this purpose, notifyinge the time and place, and what each man is to paye, wch is now agreed shall be iij^s a peece, as findinge by the last yeares experience it cannott be lesse, to beare out the full charge :

Members requested to send Venison.

"And for that at such great feasts Venizon is esteemed to bee a most necessary Complement, the Courthath thought fitt that letters be addressed, in the name of the Company unto such Noblemen and gentlemen as are of this Society to request this fauo^r at their hands and withall their presence at the said Supper.¹

ren could be well accommodated, and adds that those that were young would live to see that "You have made this Island, which is but the suburbs of the Old World, a bridge, a gallery to the New; to join all to that world, that shall never grow old, the kingdom of Heaven."

¹ Chamberlain wrote: "On Wednesday night the Virginia Company had a feast or meeting at Merchant-taylors Hall, whither many of the Nobility and Council were invited but few came. They spent twenty one does, and were between three and four hundred at 3^s a man: The Dean of Pauls preached according to the custom of all feastings now-a-days." *Nichols*, IV, 781.

LETTER FROM RALPH HAMOR.

"Capt Hamers Letter was read relatinge some accidents that had happned in the Colony since the Massacre, the killinge of the Indians, burninge of their Townes, the ioyninge with the King of Patomacke against Opachankano, Capt Maddison sent unto him with 30 English, the insolent Answe^r of Opachankano to the Gouverno^r message for restoringe of the captiue English, with the dishono^r he did to the Kings Picture, the resolucon of y^e Gouvernor and Counsell at the end of August to make warre upon Opachankano, with 500 men, hopinge by Gods helpe this winter to cleare the Country of him and settlinge the Colony in a farr better estate than it was before, and that this Massacre will proue much to the speedie aduancem^t of the Colony and much to the benefitt of all those that shall now come Hither.

LORD ST. JOHN PRESENTS COATS OF MAIL.

Nov. 20. "M^r Deputy acquainted the Court with a noble Guift of the Lo: St John of Basinge (vizt) 60 Cots of Male w^{ch} for the defence of the Country at the mocon of S^r John Dauers in the name of the Companie he sent up in August last, and were sent in the Abigaile.

LEGACY FOR THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN.

"M^r Deputy further acquainted the Company that M^r George Ruggle¹ lately fellowe of Clare Hall in Cambridge

¹ George Ruggle had been a fellow student of Nicholas Ferrar at Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was the author of the celebrated comedy, *Ignoramus*, which was acted by the students before King James, which so pleased the King that he said he believed the author, and the actors together had a design to make him laugh himself to death.—*Peckard's Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 24.

beinge a Brother of the Company and newly deceased (w^{ch} he said he could not without great greife mençon) had by his will bequeathed 100^{li} for the educaçon of Infidells children w^{ch} he had caused to be put into the Table: w^{ch} the Court well approued of; but seemed (at least the most part) to be utterly ignorant of the person or qualities of the man: Whereupon desiringe to be informed of both

DEPUTY FARRAR'S EULOGY ON GEORGE RUGGLE.

“ Mr Deputy told them he was a man second to none in knowledge of all manner of humanity, learninge, and so generally reputed in the Vniuersity of singular honestie and integritie of life, sincere and zealous in Religion, and of verie great wisdom and understandinge: All w^{ch} good parts he had for these last three yeares, wholly almost spent and exercised in Virginia buisnesses, hauinge (besides continually assistinge his Brothers and himselfe with Counsell and all manner of helpe in these places) written sundry treatises for the benefitt of the Plantation, and in pticular the worke so highly comended by S^r Edwin Sandys, concerninge the Gouvern^t of Virginia, but such was his modestie that he would by no meanes suffer it to be knowne duringe his life. But now beinge dead M^r Deputy said he could not with a good conscience depriue him of that Hono^r w^{ch} he so duely deserued.

GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO LONDON COMPANY, JANUARY 20, 1622-23.

“ Right Hono^{ble}

“ We cannot butt acknowledg gods greate goodnes y^r after those last great disasters hath stired upp the harte of his most excelent Ma^{tie} to bestowe uppon us soe Royall a

gifte of Armes & munition wch we resolute to ymploy to y^e honor of our Countrey and reuenge of his subiects blood for wch munitione and his gracious intentione of supplying us wth people we beseech you to p^sent our most humble thanks to his Sacred Ma^{ty}. In the next place wee must acknowledg y^e hande of heauen also, that hath not suffered the zeale to this Plantation to dye or grow colde in y^e bosomes of yo^r the Hono^{ble} Companie, but that you conceiue yt rightlie as increase of the future strength, not a decay of this Colonie, wch befoer ran in a more dangerous, though in a more plausible manner

Revenge upon the Indians.

“Wee haue anticipated your desires by settinge uppon the Indyans in all p^lces, M^r Trer firste fell uppon the Tapahtonaks in to seuerall expeditions, Sir George Yardley uppon y^e Wyanokes, and in a second expedition uppon the Nancemonds, Warescoyks & Pawmunkie ye chiefe seate of Sassapen & Apochankeno, Capt John West uppon the Taux Powhatane, and Capt William Powell uppon the Checohominy, Capt Hamer being sent to the Patomecks to trade for corne slew diuers of y^e Necochincos y^t sought to Circumuent him by treacherie, The like did Capt Madisone at Patomeck, Capt Hamer a second tyme ymployed to Pataomeck for corne slew some others y^t p^rued our enemies, And now is Capt Tucker in the Riuer of Rapa-hanock to take reuenge uppon them as Confederates with Apochankeno.

Destruction of Villages.

“In all wch places we haue slaine diuers, burnt their townes destroyed their wears, & corne and S^r Georg Yardley

in his last expedition brought into the Colonie aboue a Thousande bushell of corne, wherein he freely employed his shippinge shallops, maryners, and servants Besides there hath been brought in by trade and force 3000 bushells more, wherein we haue been forced to ymploy many pties of men, the necessitie wherof being fore seene by us, was one cause why wee drew into fower bodies.

Indians difficult to Exterminate.

“ By conferance of former experyences with those of ours uppon the Saluages it is most aparant that they are an enemy not suddenlie to be destroyed with the sworde by reason of their swyftnes of foote, and aduantages of the woode, to wch uppon all our assaults they retyre but by the way of staruinge and all other meanes y^t we can possibly deuise we will constantlie pursue their extirpation. By computation and confessione of the Indyans themselues, we haue slayne moer of them this yeere, than hath been slayne before since y^e begininge of y^e Colonie.

Censure of the Company.

“ Whereas in the begininge of your Lres by the Trewloue you pass so heauie a Censure uppon us as yf we alone were guiltie, you may be pleased to consider, what instructions you haue formerly giuen us, to wynn the Indyans to us by A kind entertayninge them in o^r howses, and yf it were possible to co-habit wth us, and how ympossible it is for any watch and warde to secure us against secrett enemies y^t liue pmiscuouslie amongst us, and are harbored in our bosomes, all Histories and your owne discourse may sufficyentlie informe you.

Warning of the intended Massacre.

“ For the warninge giuen the last yeere, some of us heere can say nothinge unto yt, but S^r George Yardley and M^r Pountis themselues doe affirme yt notice beinge giuen by the Kinge of the Easterne Shore of Apochankeno his plott, at the takinge upp of Powhatans bones at wch Ceremoney many great numbers of the Saluages were to be assembled to sett uppon euery Plantation of the Colonie, S^r George Yardley himselve in psone went to euery Plantation and tooke a generall muster of all the men and their Armes, gaue straight Charge y^t watch and warde should be kept euery where. But Apochancono earnestly denying ye plott, and noe aparant prooffe brought our people by degrees fell againe to their ordinary watch not beeing able to follow their seuerall Labors and keep soe strict a garde, especyally beinge seated in small pties, and at diuers tymes hauinge had many the like Alarums wch came to nothinge. Neither was it to be imagined y^t uppon y^e death of Nene-machanew, a man soe farr owt of the fauor of Apochancono y^t he sent worde to S^r George Yardley, being then Gou^rnor, by his interpreter y^t for his pte he could be contented his throte were cutt, there would fall owte a generall breach, wee being in treatie wth him and offeringe to doe him Justice. Accordinge to the Articles of peace, yf uppon the taking upp of the dead bodies y^t myght appere y^t Nene-machanew had noe hand in their deaths wch was all y^t Apochancono required, and then uppon sent onto us to search for y^e bodies and in the mean tyme sent woorde y^t the death of Nenemachanew being but one man should be noe occasione of the breach of y^e peace, and y^t the Skye should sooner falle than Peace be broken one his pte, and

that he had giuen order to all his people to giue us noe offence and desired the like from us. Notwithstanding order was taken generally through owt ye whole Colony to stand uppon theire guards until further tryall, but y^e Indyans cominge daylie amongst us, and putting themselves into our powers, bread in our people a securitie

Saduened by Company's Reproofs.

“These and diuers other Circumstances considered wee were in good hope yt you would not haue added sorrow to affliction, woundinge our reputationes wth such disgrasfull reproofes, unworthie of our suffering yf not of our industrie, But y^e you would first haue ascended to y^e trew cause wch we with causes to bee all our seruices hauinge since lost more by the Imediate hand of God than by the Treacherie of the Saluages, And would to god yt the Couetousnes of some at home, did not only in quantetie excessiue, but in qualitie base and infectious: for apparell wee know noe excesse butt in the parishes, and had not that taxe pceeded from you, wee should haue thought it a flante for our pouertie and nakednesse.

Removal to Accomac.

“The remouall to the Eastern Shore wch you call an abandoning of this Riuer (beinge a place indeede y^e commands not only this but all the Riuers in the Baye) was a thinge only in dispute & speculatinge But uppon the consideratione that it might be at first sight a taint to our reputations & noe way lawfull to forsake our stations with out leaue, y^e pceeded noe farther as all our Accons since may sufficiencytly proue, hauinge carefully repayred the decays of James Cyttie and inuited all men to builde theire,

wch pceeded cheerfully one, till your Lres of dyspersinge men againe Wherein wee submitt our Judgments to your Comands, made euery man look to his priuatt [interest.] Butt y' it was necessary to seatt together in two or three great bodyes was the unanimous voyce both of the Counsell and Planters, And noe doupt would haue draune one the buildinge of fortified Townes whereof now wee dispayer, wherby we might haue made aduantage of their Saluage treacherie by the securinge of ourselues from the natiue and forren Enemie, and y' without a tax of feare beinge rather a conception, than a thing we know and this we take to hand the first endeours of all new plantations; wee conclude this poynt wth the 4th reson giuen in your printed booke, y' to be scattered in small Companies are helps to victorie, but hinderances to Ciuilitie.

Lady Dale's Plantation.

"The quittinge of Soe many Plantations was absolutely necessarie, and wee moer willinglie suffer reprooff in pseruing you^r people, than Comendation in their hazarde in one wee will instance the necessitie of all, by a muster taken of my Lady Dales family wch consisted of two and twentie, whereof eight were boys, most of the men were new and untrayned, wth very little munitione, and but six peeces and one Armour amongst them, and 54 headd of Cattle wch all these men were not Sufficient to garde except eyther the place or Industry of enclosure had giuen aduantage

Iron Works.

"As for ye Irone Workes we had resolued to haue strengthened them with all y^e planters therabouts, yf soe

many of ye principall woorke men had not been slayne, as in the opinione of M^r Barkley and M^r Southerne, it was utterly ympossible to pceede in that worke, though wth y^e assistance of the whole Colonie, neyther was it possible retayninge any more of y^e Plantations, eyther Draw a competent force to reuenge ourselues uppon our enemies, or to send abroad pties to pcure corne for o^r psent reliefe, w^{ch} our reputations and necessitie required, as may appear by this, wheras by comm consent 300 were thought to bee the lest number to assault Apochancono himselfe, whose discomfiture would proue y^e dishartininge of the residue, uppon a generall vote taken, there could not be leuiéd aboue 180 men, whereof 80 at lest were only seruiceable for caryinge of Corne, and yet those few Plantations wee holde especyally by resone of the sicknesse of our people were left as weake, as was in any sort justifiable.

The Crime of Ingrossing.

“ For y^t of ingrossinge all, and leauinge all our innocency knowes not how to interprett it, and desyre alsoe wth y^e beloued discyples, you would be pleased to poynt out y^e man guiltie of y^e horrible treasons against god himselfe, since by naminge none you charge vs all, nether know wee any that had nott freely aduentured themselves and pted wth their pticular pffits to aduance your designes and not their owne gaine and greatness, for the repayer of wch causeles suspitions wee shall endeuer accordinge to your comande to restore y^e Plantations where formerly they were and to maintaine them with abundance of graine and Victuall, Provided y^t we be not charged from home wth such multitudes of people scantlie or utterlie unprouided as formerly hath been sent and come ouer, beinge

y^e Chief cause of our scarcitie, and how soeuer you haue very worthely sett in priute to all mens vewe w^t pvisions are necessarie to be brought hither, yet it is but in pte obserued euen by those last supplies.

Superiority of present Government.

“ Wee desire to make noe comparisone wth those y^t haue formerlie gouerned, to whose memories we giue all respect & honor, but yf you please to take a suruey of those tymes, you may perceue y^t there were held but fower Plantations, and those not subdiuided, fed and appareled wholie by your comon purse, and yett were all Colonie seruants under the eye of y^e Magistrate at the absolute Comande of the Gou^rnor, and y^t under Marshall Law, wheras before this Massacre there were neere 80 seuerall Plantationes and Diuidents, and accordinge to your late instructions are like to be no lesse than fortie, ten tymes as many as were then mantayned, would to God o^r numbers of men, held the like pportione.

Scarcity of Corn.

“ For our former wante of corne wee y^t are latelie come can say nothings, those y^t were heere before alleage y^t scant and bad prouisions sent ouer with new comers and that all Tenants at halfes (the Colledge only excepted) were neuer able to feede themselues by their labours three moneths in y^e Yeere.

Frenchmen industrious.

“ Wheras the Frenchmen generallie haue allways plentifully provided for themselues and others, and some of them haue effected more wth their pticuler families than

the whole Colone in that alleaged *infamie*? And yf this last disaster had not beefalne us wee should nott haue needed y^t supplie of meale, for your great paynes and trauell in pcuringe whereof we giue you humble thanks, but we confes freely, yf we had knowne y^t would haue cost you soe much trouble wee would neuer have writt for y^t, and for y^e future, if y^t they be puided for y^t shall hereafter come ouer we are confident there wilbe no cause To intreat your helpe for supplie of corne or any other pvision, fourther than voluntary aduenture will bringe in, w^{ch} shall neuer be intreted for us, seeinge by reason of our great crosses, wee haue not beene enabled to our griefe to make such speedie and full retourne for those aduentures you haue pcured, as was expected.

Cause of slow Returns.

“The maine cause why retournes were not made for y^e last yeers Magazine was because before the arriual of the Warwick, most of the Tobacco in y^e Lande was solde and made away to other shippinge that formerly ariued. To whom you required our fauors to be showne in respect of their less number of people transported than usuall, soe as of necessitie your factor myght haue kept y^e goods dead uppon his hands or sell them to be paide this cropp Wherin yf hee haue been denied any assistance from us in recoueringe his depts you might then soe bitterlie censure us.

“Other helpe wee could not giue him beinge not at all acquainted with y^e pticularitie of his busines, Beside there haue and doe come daylie into this lande so many priuatt Aduentures equallie recomended unto us, as fīue times y^e Cropp of this yeere will nott satisfie there being not made aboue three score thousand waight of Tobacco in the whole

Collonie, and so many priuatt aduentures besides, that except we should deny free trade contrarie to y^e equitie of your order, doe and will take away much of our Tobacco though we haue no warrant to them to recouer it, Because many of their comodities as Sacke, sweete meates and stronge Liquors are soe acceptable to the people.

Staple Commodities.

“Concerninge the raisinge of Staple Comodities our endeauors therein and how farr it was aduanced before this disaster you haue been formerly aduised; how earnest our intentes are to psecute them heerafter. Mr Thre^r will more pticularly informe you.

Maurice Berkeley.

“The failinge of Iron woorkes is much lamented by the whole Collony whose assistance they wanted not whiles it was in theyre power to assiste them, the state of w^{ch} woorke wee referre to y^e relatione of Mr. Maurice Barkley who is now to returne by whom we will send you a list of y^e names and pfessions of the men, togeather wth a note of y^e tooles and materialls necessary for the reerectinge of that woorke.

Silk-worm Seed.

“The Silke woorme seede w^{ch} was formerly sent ouer were all hatch^t out before they cam to our hands, only those now receued are for y^e gratest pte well conditioned, and shalbe carefully pserued.

“The Mulberie trees great store were ye last yeere planted, and shalbe yeerly inclosed, the like care of Vines we will haue.

Silke Grass.

“The Silke grasse we purpose to send you some quantitie, soe much as shall suffice to make experience of it, and yf it proue right we can send you therof aboundance.

Sassafras.

“For gatheringe of Sasafras although the necessitie of the yeere doth require y^e employment of more hands than we haue soe many People beinge to bee reseated uppon their Plantations, hauinge howses to build and the tyme of plantinge drawinge neere, yet will doe our best to Satisfie your desires therein.

Glass Works.

“For what hath been done in the glasse works Mr. Threr will inform you therin, the like will Mr. Pountis for the maides, as also for Mr. Woodalls cattle.

Fur Voyage.

“And as for the Fur Vioadge we cannott resolute you, Capt Jhones being nott yett retourned.

Captain Barwick and Company.

“Capt. Barwick and his Companie at their ariuall were Acomodated accordinge to theire Desire in James Cytie, when they haue spent their tymes in howsinge themselues, and are now woorkinge uppon shallops, Since his arriuall by sicknes he hath lost many of his princypall workmen, and he himselfe at present very dangerouslie sick, Mr. Thre^r will at all tymes take Accompt of the pfitts and returne them.

Carpenters for East India School.

"The men sent for y^e buildinge of the East India Scoole were for the psent placed amongst the Colledge Tenants, fower of them are dead, the residue shalbe placed wth the first conveniencie at Martins hundred according to Mr. Coplands request to the Gouvernor and Counsell.

Death of Rev. Mr. Leake.

"The little experience wee haue of Mr Leake made good your Comendations of him, and his death to us very greuous.

Death of Sir Wm. Nuce.

"Sir William Nuce did not aboue two days suruiue the readinge of his Pattent, Whose long delay and sudden losse were to our great disaduantage. He brought with him very few people, sicklie, ragged and altogether without puiSIONE, his sudden death and great depts left his estate much entangled to our extraordinarie trouble.

Payments for the Maids and Boys.

"Mr Treas^r hath receaued a booke of accompt concerning the Tobacco sent home for the fiftie youths sent in the Dewtie, and the maidens in the Jonathan and Londone Marchant, and of 2407 powndes of Tobaccosent home by the, 1407^{ld} thereof was for ye Transportation of nyne of the Cyttie boys, nyne maides and fower men; the residue wth 20 barrells of Corne paide heere was for y^e rent of twentie boys of the Cyttie Boys the yeere past, wch was as much as you receaue for most of yo^r Tenants of makinge upp thesomme expended for the Duetie boys and

the maides wee will do our best y^t they who had them may make you Satisfactions.

“Concerninge the reuenews of the Companie we suppose you haue found by your officers where the error is, we conceaue yt yf you would be pleased to Change the Condition of Tenants into Seruants for future supplies and not send ouer new officers neerly unexperienced in the Countrey to comande them, who thogh they may be very sufficyent for much worthie ymployment, eyther martiall or ciuill, are not soe fitt for y^e ouerlookinge and directinge men in their labours, in wch affayes experience instructith more than much other sufficiencie, That then your reuenewes might be greatly Improued.

Capt. Each and Fortification.

“Capt. Each hath not yett vewed the place at ~~Wadris~~ *was iwasoyaks* ~~coyke~~ whether it be fitt for fortification or nott, when he hath yf he shall find it sezable, and will undertake it he shall haue our utmost and best assistance, as farr as this yeers pouertie will pmitt, wch we will supplie in the next.

College Tenants.

“The College Tenants wth much difficultie, we are now about to resettle and haue engaged ourselues to supplie them with Corne untill haruest hauinge strengthend them with diuers of the old Planters, uppon y^e Conditions wch yourselues haue ppounded.

Martins Hundred.

“The Aduenturers of Martins Hundred whom haue putt life into the Accon by reenforcinge their supplies, may promise from us to themselves all possible asistance. Liut.

Parkinson wth his people is already gone downe y^e like we shalbe redie to doe to y^e rest of the plantations.

Petitions.

"We haue receaued diuers petitiones wherin wee wilbee readie to dco Justice as ye proofes shall arise uppon Examinatione, nor can any man for ought we knowe, complayne Justly that a lawfull hearinge hath been denied him at any tyme.

Charity Invoked.

"Lastlie we conclude wth our humble request unto you y^t you will not judge us by the euent of thinges wch are euer uncertain especyally in a new Plantation, nor by reportes of branded people, some of whom haue deseruedly undergone seuerall kinds of punishment, nor of the malicious and unknowinge, but rather to giue credit to our publike informations and then we shall cheerfullie as we haue euer faithfully pceede to the aduancement of your designs, the good success wherof we humblye recomend to y^e fauors of the Allmightie, and euer remaine,

"Most humbly at yo^r Comands,

"James Cytty y^e 20th of
January 1622.

FRA. WYATT
GEORGE YARDLEY
GEORGE SANDYS
ROGER SMITH
JOHN POUNTIS
RALPHE HAMOR.

"To y^e right Hono^{ble} y^e Earl of Southampton and other y^e Lordes, wth the rest of the Woorthie aduenturers of y^e Virginia Company."

REV. P. COPELAND TO PREACH THANKSGIVING SERMON.

1622 - 2 April 10, 1622. "Forsomuch as the George was now returned safe from Virginia confirminge the good newes they had formerly receaued of the safe arriuell of their shippes and people in Virginia sent this last Somer, it was now thought fitt and resolved accordinge to a mo^oon formerly made to the like effect that a sermon should be preached to express Companies thankfulness unto God for this his great and extraordinary blessinge :

"To wch end the Court entreated M^r Copland beinge present to take the paines to preach the said sermon, being a brother of the Companie, and one that was well acquainted wth the happie successe of their affaires in Virginia this last yeare, upon w^{ch} request M^r Copland was pleased to undertake it and thereupon two places beinge proposed where this exercise should be pformed, namely St. Michaells in Cornhill, or Bowe Church, it was by erection of hands appointed to be in Bowe Church on Wednesday next, beinge the 17th Day of this present Moneth of Aprill about 4 of the Clocke in the Afternoone, for w^{ch} purpose M^r Carter is appointed to giue notice of the time and place to all the Companie.¹

¹ The sermon was preached and printed in quarto with the title : "Virginia's God to be thanked, or a Sermon of Thanksgiving for the happy success of the affairs in Virginia, this last year. Published by commandment of the Company."

Parkinson
we s^t 378

JOHN MARTIN THE PERSIAN.

"John Martin the Persian makinge humble suite for the Companies fauo' to the Farmers of his Ma^{ty} Custome to free him from payinge double Custome w^{ch} they required of him being a stranger notwithstandinge he was made a free man in Virginia by S^r George Yeardley, then Gouvernor as by Certificate under the Collonies Seale appeared, Answeare was made touchinge his freedome that none but the King could make him a free denizon of England, and for the Custome demanded the Farmers themselues could not nowe remitt it in regard they had already entred the parcell into their books and charged it upon Account, whereupon it beinge taken into consideraçon howe he might be relieued he was at length aduised to petiçon unto my Lo: Trear for remittinge the said imposiçon in regard he was a freeman of Virginia and intended to retorne thither againe wth some seruants out of the proceed of that small parcell of Tobacco he had brought ouer to supplie his wants.

TRIAL SERMON OF MR. STAPLES.

"Mr Staples Minister recommended by M^r Abra: Chamberlen and by certificate under the hands of well neare 20 Diuines continuing still his earnest request unto the Companie for some allowance towards the transport and furnishinge out of himselfe his wife and child to Virginia, where he hath a Brother lyuinge w^{ch} moues him the rather to goe, for w^{ch} allowance he is entreated to put himselfe wholly their free bounty the Court takinge it into consideraçon did at length agree that although their

Stocke was spent they could strayne themselues to giue him 20^{ld} to pay for his said passage and to furnish him with necessaries and for that it was moued that he might haue some testimony of his sufficiencie by a Sermon he was desired to preach upon Sunday come sen night in the Afternoone at St Scyth's Church w^{ch} he promised to performe.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S SON.

April 12. "Mr. Deputy propounded S^r Walter Rawleighes sonne to be admitted into the Company w^{ch} in regard his father was y^e first discouerer of Virginia, was generally well liked of.

DUPPA'S BAD BEER.

June 18. "The Owners of the Abigall further Acquainted the Court that wheras they understood a great part of the beer was bad and such as had likelie much endamaged the peoples health, that that Beer was bought of M^r. Dupper who had receiued of them a great price for itt. Wherefore as well for the Cleeringe of their Inocencie as allso for the iust sattisfacōn of the world, they purposed to complaine either to the Commissioners or the LL^{ds} of the Counsell in case the Company had not sufficient authoritye of themselves to p^rceed against M^r Dupper.

RICHARD DOWNES, A SCHOLAR.

"Edward Downes petiçoned that his son Richard Downes hauinge continued in Virginia these 4 yeares and being bred a schollar went ouer in hope of preferment in the

Colledge there; might now be free to liue there of himselfe and haue 50 acres of land to plant upon. The Court conceauinge his suite to be verie reasonable haue recomended the graunt thereof to the next Quarter Court.

POSTPONEMENT OF ANNUAL ELECTION.

“ At a Quarter Court held for Virginia the 25th of June, 1623

“ Mr Deputy acquainted the Court that he had receaued a Letter from his Ma^{ty} sent unto him by a seruant of Mr Secretary Caluert and directed to the Treasurer Counsell and Companie for Virginia w^{ch} lre (hauinge acquainted the counsell for Virginia) they thought fitt it should be first read before they proceeded to any other buissness: wherupon the L're was opened and read the Coppie whereof doth here ensue.

“ ‘James R

“ ‘Right Trustie and wel beloued: Wee greet you well: Forasmuch as Wee haue appointed a Comission to examine the present estate of the Virginia Plantation with sundrie other things and matters appertayninge thereunto and that we expect within these fewe dayes to haue some Accompt made us of their Laboures in that service: Understandinge that to morrowe beinge the 25th of this Moneth; you intend to hold a Court for the said Company: Our will and pleasure is that you do forbear the eleccon of any Officers untill to morrowe fortnight at the soonest but to let those that be already remayne as they are in the meane time.

“ ‘Giuen at our Court at Greenwich the fower and twentieth day of June, in the one & twentieth yeare of our Raigne of great Brittain, France and Ireland.¹’ ”

TRANSACTIONS UNTIL JUNE, 1864.

1624

The Company, owing to the bitter controversies that prevailed at the meetings held during the last years of existence, transacted but little business, and there are few entries in the Journals of this period that pertain to the affairs of the colony.

WIDOW OF CAPT. THOMAS NUCE.

August 6. “ S^r John Dañers acquainted the Court that he had receaued from M^{rs} Nuice the late wife of Deputy Nuice deceased in Virginia, wherein she requested that the Companie in tender regard of her great losse by the late death of her said Husband beinge now left desolate and comfortless in a strainge Country farr from all her frends, they therefore would please to grant her that fauo^r that she might still enioy the moytie of those Tenants labo^rs that belonged to her Husband's place, w^{ch} if he had liued

¹ After this was read there was a long and general silence. It was then voted, that the present officers should be continued, as by the express words of their charter, they could only elect officers at a quarterly meeting.

had of right bin due unto him, until such time as they shall dispose of the said place.

“ M^r Deputy also signified that M^r Pountys in his letter to him comendinge much the Gentlewomans good carriage and charity to diuers in that Countrie, did with much earnestness desire the same fauo^r of the Companie in her behalfe: Whereupon the Court takinge it into their consideraçon conceaued her request to be verie reasonable and did therefore generally agree it should accordingly be remembered in the generall letter to the counsell there sent by Hopewell.

ANNUAL SERMON POSTPONED.

Nov. 12. “ A lre from an unknowne p^{erson} beinge presented to the Court and read wherein was enclosed two peeces of gold of 40^s for a sermon to be preached this year (as was the last) before the Companie. It beinge taken into consideraçon it was thought fitt (and so agreed) the Sermon should be respited for a time in regard of the present troubles of the Companie.

“ M^r Caswell payinge allowance for the money he disbursed ouer aboue that he receaued of the Companie for their last Sermon feast at Marchantaylors Hall being then their Steward was referred to the Auditors.

CAPT. WILLIAM PEIRCE.

Nov. 19. “ Uppon mo^{tion} order was giuen for a Commission to be drawne upp and sealed for William Peirce M^r of the good Shipp called the Returne of 100 Tuns bound for transportaçon of passengers to Virginia.

BREACH OF PROMISE CASE.

April 21, 1624. "M^r Deputy signified of certain other pap^{rs} that came inclosed in y^e aforesaid Box w^{ch} were read wherof one conteyninge certaine examinaçons touchinge a difference between M^r Pooley and M^{rs} Jourdan referred unto the company here for answere, and the Court entreated M^r Purchas to conferr with some Ciuilians and aduise what answere was fitt to be returned in such a case.¹

REELECTION OF EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

April 1624. "Itt beinge taken into Consideraçon by this present Court, after all reasons heard and debated itt was at length agreed by a generall erection of hands that the Lawe concerninge the lymitinge of the Office of Treasurer and Deputy to the term of 3 years should be suspended, and accordingly resoluinge to go to elecçon, the Earle of Southampton was generally and unanimously nominated and beinge putt in election wth the Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Cauendish, the place fell to the Earle of Southampton, by hauinge 69 balls, the Lord Cauendish fwe, and the Negatiue box 2. Whereuppon y^e Court besought the Lord Cauendish and the rest of the Counsell present to acquaint his Lo^p with this choyce and how

¹ Pooley alleged that the widow Jordan engaged herself to him three or four days after her husband's death. After this the widow disavowed the engagement, and in the presence of the governor and council of Virginia contracted herself to William Ferrar, for many years a prominent councillor, and probably a brother of John and Nicholas the deputies of the company.

humbly and instantly the Court besought his Lo^p to accept thereof.

REELECTION OF NICHOLAS FERRAR.¹

"For Deputy M^r Alderman Johnson M^r Nicholas Ferrar being proposed and ballated, the place fell to M^r Ferrar by hauinge 64 balls M^r Alderman 10 and the negatiue box 1. Whereuppon being brought to his place tooke his oath.

REELECTION OF WYATT AS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

"Sir Fraunces Wyat² being proposed to the Court and some earnestlie mouinge that S^r Samuel Argall (in regard of his worth and desire hereunto) might stand in Elec^con with him they were both ballated and the place fell to S^r Frauncis Wyat by hauinge 69 balls, S^r Samuel Argall 8 and y^e negative box 2.

¹ Nicholas Ferrar, Jr., brother of John, was educated at Cambridge. At the age of 21, he was one of the train of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613, after her marriage with Frederic, the Elector Palatine. After the dissolution of the company in the year 1626, he was ordained deacon in the church of England, and became Rector of Little Gidding in Huntingdon. George Herbert, the poet, was an intimate friend. His piety was most elevated, and his taste led him to ritualism. He never married and died in 1637, beloved by all who knew him. Among his friends was the Puritan, the Rev. Patrick Copeland.

² His wife soon after this returned to England. Chamberlain writes to Carleton on June 19th. "The Lady Wyat, daughter as I take it to Lord Samuel Sandys is returned from Virginia, great with child, and Mrs. Percy in her company."



CHAPTER XVII.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY.

THE faction in the Company led by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith the late Treasurer, and Alderman Johnson late Deputy Treasurer, although few in numbers, had the sympathy of the court party in politics. Early in the year 1623, it was evident that the proceedings of the Company were to be met with objections.¹ After a contract had been made with the King relative to the sole importation of tobacco, a committee appointed by the Company recommended certain officers, with salaries, to look after their tobacco trade. The report was adopted, and Mr Wrote, the mouth-piece of the faction, made it the pretext for a rupture, and said the salaries were "carried fowly and with much arte, surreptitiously and to priuate ends," and that men "could not speak their minds freely, were

¹ The Marquis of Hamilton and Earl of Pembroke solemnly affirmed to Southampton that they heard Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, say to the King: "That it was time for him to look to the Virginia Courts which were kept at the Ferrar's House, where too many of his Nobility and Gentry resorted to accompany the popular Lord Southampton and the dangerous Sandys."

They further stated: "Your enemies will prevail at last; for let the Company do what they can in open defiance of honor and justice, it is absolutely determined at all events to take away your patent."—*Peckard's Ferrar*, pp. 115, 121.

oueraued." The upright merchant John Farrar, and Deputy Treasurer, at the next meeting, declared the remarks to be "untrue and scandalous," and Lord Cavendish said "that Wrote had not only affronted him in particular, but the Earl of Southampton and the rest of the Counsel and Committee."

At subsequent meetings Mr Wrote became more violent in his speech, and on the last of January, 1622-23, the Minutes state: "In great passion challenged the Earl of Southampton for giuing him the lye in the Third person at a Summers Islands court, saying 'that if any man should saye that in any thing men were overawed and durst not speak it, was put into his mouth by the Deuill, the father of lyes, for a fowler lye himselfe neuer told.'"

The Earl of Southampton as presiding officer, instantly told Wrote "that had he carried himselfe so in any other place but this, he would not have endured it, and sharply willed him to behaue himself in a better maner."

On the fourth of February the discussion continued, and Captain John Smith, who was then on the side of the Company, said "that hauinge spent upon Virginia a verie great matter,¹ he did by God's blessinge hope to receaue this yeare a good quantity of Tobacco w^{ch} he would not willingly haue come under the hands of them that would performe the buissness for loue, and not upon a good and competent salary."

The day after this Mr. Wrote, having refused to apologize for his indecorous speeches, was suspended, and from that time the determination of the faction to break up the Company was more marked. Early in April, Alderman

¹ The Records show no expenditure on his part.

Johnson, in behalf of the faction, presented the following petition to the King :

PETITION OF ALDERMAN JOHNSON AND OTHERS.

“ To y^e Kings most exellent Ma^{ty}.

“ The humble petition of Sundry the Aduenturers and Planters of the Virginia and Summers Ilands Plantaçons.

“ Most gracious Soueraigne :

“ Amongst the many memorable works of yo^r Ma^{ty} gracious Raigne those of the Plantaçons of Virginia and the Somer Ilands are not the Least. The beginninge of w^{ch} enterprize beinge the first forraigne Colony planted by our nation accompanied wth soe great a charge to furnish ships and men and to make yearly new Supplies without any present hope of retribuçon was sufficient att the first veiwe and computaçon to haue discouraged y^e most resolute and forward Aduenturers, butt by God's Assistance and yo^r Ma^{ty} gracious encourragem^{ts} wch that discreet and mylde Gouvern^r first nomynated and appoynted by yo^r Ma^{ty}, all sortes of men were in such kind and frendly manner inuited to engage themselues y^t notwthstandinge many difficulties that great Acçon (w^{ch} otherwise had perished in the birth, not onely tooke life and beinge butt pceeded in a moste hopefull and comfortable Course for many years togeather with unity and loue amongst ourselues and enterteynm^{nt} of those Sauadge Indians by wch endeauors sundry of those Infidells and some of emynent sort were conuerted to Christian Religion, Staple Comodities began to be rayseed and imported into this kingdome, as Iron, Sturgion, Caueary, Sope and Pottashes, Mastas for

Ships, Clapboard, Pipestanes, Waynscott, Wine, Pitch and Tarr and y^t most desired work of Silkwormes: These were y^e blessings then uppon our peaceable proceedinge.

“Butt wee know not howe itt is of late yeares com to passe that notwithstandinge yo^r Ma^{ties} subiects haue been in great multitude exported to the Plantacons yett y^e aforesaid Comodities and other y^e fruits of y^t worke do not appear as in former times, o^r unitie and peace att home is turned to Ciuill discord and dissencon amongst o^r selues, and to Massacre and Hostility between the Natives and our Colony in Virginia, and diuers of y^e Antient Aduenturers and Planters conceiue themselues many ways iniured abused and oppressed. In wch respect fearinge y^t y^e utter ruine and distruccon of those great works is like to followe without the help of a Supream hand, and not holdinge itt fitt to trouble yo^r Sacred ears wth pticular complaints wee are forced for remedy to appeale to yo^r moste excellent Ma^{ty}.

“Humbly prayinge y^t some worthy personages whom yo^r Ma^{ty} shall please may be noiated and appointed by comission under y^e great Seale of England who by Oath or otherwise by all Lawfull means and waies may enquire and examine y^e true state of y^e Plantacons att y^e time when S^r Thomas^e Smith lefte y^e Gouverment of y^e said Comp^s: and all incidents thereunto belonginge, as also what moneys since y^t time haue been collected for y^e Plantacons, and by whome, howe thesame haue been procured and expended, and what after y^e expense of so much money is y^e true estate and condicon of y^e said Plantacons at this present: As allso to enquire into all abuses and greiuances concerninge the former pticulars And of all wrongs and iniuries done to any y^e Aduenturers or Planters and the grounds and

causes thereof, and to propound how the same in time to come be reformed and howe the businesses of y^e said Plantations may be better mannaged Soe that all Contentions and difficulties being reconciled, the Authors thereof condignly punished, unitie and peace resettled, and y^e forme of Gouverninge, and dyrectinge those Affaires beinge better established that worke may prospr wth a blessinge from heauen, to yo^r Ma^{ty} great honour and proffitt, and to those religious and publique ends for wch they were first undertaken."

As soon as it was known that this petition had been offered, an extraordinary court of the Company was called on Saturday, April 12, 1623, in the forenoon.

"The Lo: Cauendish acquainted the Company that the cause of calling this Court, at soe unseasonable a time was to acquaint them how that Alderman Johnson together wth some others his Associates had presented a peticon to his Ma^{ty} complayning much of the misgouernm^t of the Companies and Plantacons for the Last foure yeares, w^{ch} to the entent it might not make any impression in his Royall breast to the preiudice of the Company his Lo^p conceaued that the Company were to thinke of some present course to giue his Ma^{ty} satissfaccon by a true Declaracon both of the State of the Colony, and of the cariage of buisinesses here at home by the Company."

Two days after this, a committee of the Company appeared before the Privy Council to answer the false allegations in Johnson's petition.¹ Chamberlain, in a letter to

¹ In Peckard's *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, it is stated that on the Thursday before Easter 1623, he and others were called before the Privy Council, when Cranfield the Lord Treasurer presented Johnson's and Butler's ac-

Carleton, dated on the 19th, writes: "There is a great faction fallen out in the Virginia Company. The heads on the one side are, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir John Ogle, Sir Edwin Sandys, with divers others of meaner quality. On the other side are, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Henry Mildmay, Alderman Johnson and many more. On Monday [14th] they were before the King with accusations and allegations, where Sir Edward Sackville carried himself so malpertly and insolently, that the King was fain to take him down soundly and roundly, but I hear that by means of the Lord Treasurer he made his peace next day."¹

On the 17th the Privy Council met and appointed the commission of inquiry asked for by Alderman Johnson, who, in accordance with the wish of the Virginia Company, were instructed to inquire into its affairs, from the beginning of Sir Thomas Smith's directorship.

cusations, and said they must be answered by the next Monday. Ferrar asked for an extension of time, but Cranfield enraged cried out, "Not an hour longer than till Monday afternoon, and therefore take up the papers and be gone."

It was thought by Cranfield and others that they would not be able to reply to the various charges in so brief a period, but Ferrar gave a portion of the allegations to Lord Cavendish, a portion to Sir Edwin Sandys, and examined the rest himself. Six clerks were kept at work night and day, allowing only two hours for sleep and meals, and to the discomfiture of their enemies in the Privy Council, the Company appeared with their answer, the reading of which occupied six hours. The Company never heard what became of their answer, as the Council secreted it. (pp. 143 144).

¹ *Court and Times of James I*, vol. II, pp. 389, 390.

It was also ordered that no private letters sent to the colony should allude to the divisions, and that the Company should send a letter exhorting the colonists to live in peace.

On the 28th the letter of the Company for Virginia, was submitted to the Privy Council, but as it omitted to mention the King's grace and favor, was returned for correction.

In a few days the letter was amended and sent to Virginia, in the ship Bonny Bess.

LETTER PREPARED FOR THE COLONY BY ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL
OF THE KING.

"After o^r very hartie comendaçons. Wee haue receaued yo^r letters sent by the Truloue and James, wherby we und^rstand through God's assistance you haue made a good beginning to that iust reuenge wch you owe the Authors of that bloody Massacre :

No Quarter to Indians.

"Wch we desire you very earnestly wth all diligence and care to prosecute according to the aduise and instructions we haue formerly giuen you and that course yo^a haue already begun untill you haue so fully accomplished it as yo^r security from all danger in that kind may be fully wrought.

Causes of Sickness to be avoided.

"Wee cannot but be much grieued at the Sicknes and mortality that hath hapned since the Massacre, wherein

although we do acknowledge the hand of God in chastizing of o^r and yo^r sinnes, yet since, both now and formerly it hath as from the naturall causes proceeded in great part through distempers and disorders in dyet and lodgings: we most especially recomend unto yo^r care the puenting and remedying of those inconueniences according to those good and prouident courses wch we haue so often aduised and directed you unto:

Guest House.

“And in pticular we cannot but require wch we haue so often heretofore urged the building of Guest-houses in each Citty and Borough for the enterteinmt of new comers, wherof yo^r letters of the last yeare haue such hope and assurance in regard of the great retribution of 1500^ld wch you signified was to be gathred amongst you, as we verily expected the pformance thereof ere this time; but as we do conceiue and in part excuse the delay thereof through that great misfortune that befell you, so we now cannot but require so much more dilligence and care for the speedy pformance thereof. And in the meane while we very earnestly recomend unto you the people that come now ouer in this Shipp that yo^r cares and fauours begin wth the first enterteining them at their arriuall and extend to the accommodating and settlinge them respectiuey so as may be to their health and security according as in o^r letters by the James and Trueloue we gaue you aduise.

Attention to Staples.

“ The carefull and dilligent prosecucon of Staple Comodities w^{ch} we promist; we aboue all things pray you to pforme so as we may haue speedily the reall proof and testimonies of yo^r cares and endeauors therein, especially in that of Iron, of Vines, and Silk the neglect and delay whereof so long: as it is of much shame and dishonor to the Plantation, so it is to us here cause of infinit grief and discontent, especially in regard of his Ma^{ty} iust resentment therein, that his Royall expectacon after so long and patient forbearance is not yet sattisfied, whereby although we might deseruedly feare a diminution of his Royall grace and loue to the Plantation, w^{ch} after so long a time and so long a supplie by his Ma^{ty} fauor haue brought forth no better fruit than Tobacco, yett by the goodnes of God inclyning his princely heart, we haue receiued not only from the Lords of his Priuy Counsell, but from his Royall mouth such assurance not only of his tender loue and care but also of his Royall intentions for the aduancement of the Plantation; that we canot but exceedingly reioyce therein and pswade you with much more comfort and encouragement to go on in the buildinge upp of his Royall worke wth all sincerity, care, and dilligence, and that wth that pfect loue and union amongst yo^rselues as may really demonstrate that yo^r intentions are all one, the aduancement of God's glorie and the seruice of his Royall Ma^{ty}: for the picularities of his Ma^{ty} gracious intentions for the future good, you may in pte vnderstand them by the courses appointed by the Lords, whereof we here inclosed send the orders :

Tobacco Contract Dissolved.

" And we are further to signifie unto you that the Lords of his Ma^{ty} Priuy Counsell, hauing by his Ma^{ty} order taken into their considerations the contract made last Sommer by the Company haue dissolved the same ; and signified that his Ma^{ty} out of his gracious and Royall intencon and Princely fauor to the Plantation hath resolved to graunt a sole Importation of Tobacco to the two Plantations, wth an exception only of 40,000 weight of y^e best Spanish Tobacco to be yerely brought in : And it hath also pleased his Ma^{ty} in fauor of the Plantation to reduce y^e custom and imposiçon of tobacco to 9^d p^{ld} : And last of all we are to signifie unto you that their Lo^{pps} haue ordered that all the Tobacco shall be brought in from both Plantations as by their Lops order whereof we send you a copy, you may perceaue.

" Yo^r very Louing frends

" London y^e 2th of May, 1623

Lo : CAUENDISH

S^R NATH RICH

Lo : PAGETT

" To o^r very Louing frends S^r

Francis Wyatt Knight and

Capt Generall of Virginia and

to the rest of the Counsell of

State there these be.

S^R EDW. SACKUILL

S^R EDWIN SANDYS

S^R JO: BOURCHIER

ALD. JOHNSTON

M^R THO. GIBBS

M^R JOHN FERRAR "

" At a Court held for Virginia, on Wedensday in the Afternoone, the last of Aprill 1623.

The Lo : Cauendish acquainted the Company that diuers ancient Planters, M^{rs} of Shipps, Marriners, and sundry other persons that had liued long in Virginia and haue

beene many tymes there, had presented y^e Comittee wth an answere unto Capt Butlers Informaçon concerning the Colony in Virginia; wherein they did directly contrary the most mayne points of his Informaçon, prouing them to be false and scandalous, w^{ch} was by erecçon of hands ordered to be read being this w^{ch} followeth.

VIRGINIA PLANTERS' ANSWER TO CAPTAIN BUTLER.

✓ "The Answers of diuers Planters that haue long liued in Virginia, as alsoe of Sundry Marriners and other persons y^t haue been often at Virginia vnto a paper intituled :

"The Vnmasked face of our Colony in Virginia, as it was in y Winter of y^e yeare 1622.

"1. I founde the Plantaçons generally seated uppon meere Salt marishes full of infectious Boggs and muddy Creekes and Lakes & therby subiected to all those inconveniencies and diseases which are soe comonly found in y^e moste vnsounde & most vnhealthy parts of England wherof euery Country & Climate hath some.

"Answere 1. Wee say that there is no place inhabited, but is conueniently habitable. And for y^e first Plantaçon w^{ch} is Kiccoutan against w^{ch} (if any be most exception may be made itt is euery way soe well disposed that in that place well gouerned men may enioy their healthes, and liue as plentifully as in any parte of England, or other his Ma^{ties} dominons, yett that there are Marishes in some places wee acknowledge; But soe as they are more Comodeous for diuers good respects and uses, then if they were wanting. As for Boggs wee knowe of none in all y^e Country and for the rest of the Plantançons as Newports' News,

Blunt Poynt, Wariscoyake, Martin's Hundred, Paspahay, and all the Plantacons right ouer against James Citty, and all the Plantacons aboue these w^{ch} are many, they are verie fruitfull and pleasant Seates, free from Salt Marishes being all on the fresh river, and they are all verie healthfull, and high land, except James Citty w^{ch} is yett as high as Debtforde or Radclyffe.

"2. I founde y^e shores and sides of those parts of y^e Mayne Riuer where ou^r Plantacons are settled euery wher soe shallow as noe Boates can approach y^e shores, soe y^t besides y^e difficulty daunger and spoile of goods in y^e Landinge of them y^e people are forced to a Continuall wadinge & wettinge of themselues and y^t in y^e prime of winter when y^e Shipps comonly arriue, and therby get such vyolent surfetts of colde uppon colde as seldom leaue them until they leaue to liue.

"Answere 2. That generally for the Plantacons att all times from halfe flood to halfe ebb any boate y^t drawes betwixt three and 4 foote water may safely com in & Land their goods dry on shore wthout wadinge & for further cleeringe of his false obieccions, the Seamen there doe at all times deliuer the goods they bring to the Owners dry on shore wherby itt plainly appeares not any of y^e Country people there inhabitinge are by this meanes in daunger of their liues, And at a great many Plantacons belowe James Citty and allmost all aboue they may at all times land dry.

"3. The new people y^t are yearly sent ouer which arriue here for y^e most part very unseasonably in Winter, finde neither Guest house, Inne nor any y^e like place to shroud themselues in at their arriuall nor not soe much as a stroake giuen towards any such charitable worke

for y^t many of them by want hereof are not onely seen dyinge under hedges & in the woods but beinge dead ly some of them many dayes vnregarded and vnburied.

“Answer 3. To y^e first they Answer that the winter is the most healthfull time & season for arriuall of new Commers. True itt is y^t as yett ther is noe Guest house or place of interteynment for Strangers, Butt wee auerr y^t itt was a late intent and had by this time been putt in practise to make a generall gatheringe for the buildinge of such a Convenient house, w^{ch} by this time had been in good fowardnes had itt not pleased God to suffer this disaster to fall out by the Indians. But allthoughe there be no publique Guest house yett are new Commers entertayned and lodged & puided for by y^e Gouverno^r in pryuate houses; And for any dyinge in the feilds through this defecte & lyinge unburied wee are altogether ignorant, yett y^t many dy suddenly by y^e hand of God, wee often see itt to fall out euen in this flourishinge & plentifull City in y^e midst of our streets, as for dyinge under hedges there is no hedge in all Virginia.

“4. The Colony was this winter in much distress of victuall soe that English meale was sould at y^e rate of thirtie shillings a bushell their owne natie Corne called Maize at ten and fifteen shillings the bushell, The w^{ch} howsoever itt Lay heauy uppon y^e shoulders of y^e Generalltye it may be suspected not to be vnaffected by some of y^e Chiefe for they only haueinge the means in these extremities to trade for Corne with y^e Natiues doe herby ingrosse all into their hands and soe sell y^t abroad at their own prices & myself haue heard from the mouth of a prime one amongst them y^t hee would neuer wish y^t their owne

Corne should be cheaper among them eight shillings the bushell.

“ Answer 4. True itt is y^t English meale hath of late since the Massacre been sould for Tenn pounds of Tobacco y^e bushell w^{ch} no understandinge man can there value aboue fifteen shillings sterlinge, and here we finde wthout a Massacre by the iudgment of God for our murmurings att plentie Wheat hath this yeare been sould and still is in many places at three times the rate it hath borne wthin two or three years last past; And againe Indian corne hath heretofore comonly been sould after the rate of five shillings the bushell, And further meale bore so high a prise this year as itt cost ready mony in England together wth the freight & other charges neer uppōn twelue shillinge for y^t, if itt were sould at Tenn pounds of Tobacco ther will not be gayned twenty in the hundred.

“ 5. Ther Howses are generally the worst y^t euer I sawe y^e meanest Cottages in England beinge euery way equall (if not superior) with y^e most of the beste, And besides soe improuidently and scatteringly are they seated one from another as partly by theire distance but especially by the interposiçon of Creeks and swamps as they call them they offer all aduantages to their sauadge enimys & are utterly deprived of all suddaine recollection of themselues uppōn any tearmes whatsoever.

“ Answer 5. First that the houses there were most built for use, and not for ornament, and are soe farre from being soe meane, as they are reported y^t throughout his Ma^{ty} Dominions here all labouringe mens houses (w^{ch} wee chiefly pfesse our selues to be) are in no wise generally for goodnes to be compared unto them. And for the howses of men of better ranke and quallity they are so much better

and convenient y^t noe man of quallity wthout blushing can make exception against them; Againe for the Creeks and Swamps euery man ther that cannott goe by Land hath either a Boate or a Conoa for y^e conueyinge & speedy passage to his neighbo^r house. As for Cottages ther are none in Virginia, that they knowe.

“6. I found not y^e Least peec of Fortification, Three Peeeces of Ordinance onely mounted at James Citty, and one at Flowerdue Hundred but neuer a one of them seruiceable Soe that itt is most certaine y^t a Small Barke of one hundred Tunns may take its time to pass up the Riuer in spite of them & cominge to an Anchor before the Towne may beate all their houses downe about their eares & so forcinge them to retreat into y^e woods, may Land under the fauor of their Ordinance & rifle the Towne at pleasure.

“Answer 6. Itt is true ther is as yett no other Artificiall Fortificaçons then Pallisadoes wherof almost euerie Plantaçon hath one & diuers of them hath Trenches, And this last yeare Capt Eache was sent for y^t purpose. As for great Ordinance there are fower peeeces mounted at James City, and all seruiceable, ther are six mounted at Flowerdue hundred all of them likewise seruiceable, And three mounted att Kiccoutan, and all of them seruiceable, there are likewise att Newporte Newes three, all of them seruiceable, ther are likewise at Henrico seauen peeeces, and at Charles Hundred two, and in other places, besides Fowlers and Mortors at diuers places.

“7. Expectinge accordinge to their printed Bookes a great fowardnes of diuers & Sundry Comodities, At myne ariuall I found not any one of them, so much as in any towardnes of being. For y^e Iron workes were utterly vasted & y^e men dead, the Furnaces for Glass and Pots at

a stay & in a small hope, As for y^e rest they were had in a generall derision euen amongst themselues, and y^e Pamphlets y^t had published there beinge sent thither by Hundreds wer laughed to scorne, and euery base fellow boldly gaue them y^e Lye in diuers perticulars, Soe that Tobacco onely was y^e buisines & for ought y^t I could here euery man madded upon y^t, and lyttle thought or looked for any thinge else.

“Answer 7. That y^e Country yeilded diuers usefull and rich Comodities w^{ch} by reason of y^e Infancie of y^e Plantacon, and this unexpected Massacre cannott yett be brought to pfecton & is no less hindred by y^e emulous and envious reports of ill willers whose pryvate ends by time wil be discouered, and by God recompensed. And wee doe further answer y^t this Country is a most fruitfull Country & doth certainly pduce diuers rich Comodities. Itt is true y^t the Iron works are wasted and y^e men dead, but y^t was by the Massacre w^{ch} if it had not happened ther had been a good prooffe of y^t Comodity, for y^e works were in a very great forwardnes. As for Vines likewise ther were diuers Vineyards planted in sundry places, butt all of them putt back by the Massacre, but for the peoples derydinge of these Comodities, or the books sent by y^e Comp^a: wee haue neuer heard of any such scoffinge or derisions, butt as the Gouvernor and Counsell ther are very desirous and haue sett forth proclamacons to cause all men to sett both vines and Mulbery trees, so the people generally are very desyrous & forward to rayse these former comodities of Wine and Silke & likewise diuers other good Comodities.

“8. I found y^e Antient Plantations of Henrico, & Charles Citty wholly quitted, and lefte y^e spoile of y^e Indians who not onely burned y^e houses saide to be once y^e

best of all others, but fell uppon y^e Poultry, Hoggs, Cowes, Goates and Horses whereof they killed great numbers to y^e greate grieve as well as ruine of y^e Olde Inhabitants, who sticke not to affirme y^t these were not onely y^e best and healthiest parts of all others, but might allsoe by their naturall strength of scituacōn haue been y^e most easefully preserued of all the rest.

“ 9. Wheras accordinge to his Ma^{ties} gracious Letters Patents his People in Virginia are as neer as possibly may be to be gouerned after y^e excellent Lawes and Customs of Englande, I found in y^e Gouernment then not onely ignorant & enforced strayinge in diuer particulers, but willfull & intended ones ; Insomuch as some urged due conformity haue in contempt been termed men of Lawe, and were excluded from those rights which by orderly proceedings they were elected and sworne unto here.

“ 10. There hauinge been as it is thought not fewer than Tenn thousand soules transported thither ther are not through the aforementioned abuses and neglects aboue Two thousand of them at y^e present to be found aliuie, many of them alsoe in a sickly and desperate estate : Soe y^t itt may undoutedly expected y^t unless y^e Confusions and pryuate ends of some of y^e Company here, and y^e bad executions in secondinge them by their Agents there, be redressed with speed by some diuine and Supream hand that in steed of a Plantacon it will shortly gett the name of a Slaughter house, and for iustly become both odious to ourselues and contemptible to all the worlde.

“ Answer. All these wee leaue to be answered by the Gouernor and Company some of them beinge unfitt to be determyned of by us. And for y^e last wee being ignorant how many haue been transported or are now seruinge there.

"Wee whose names we here under and here after written haue uppon mature deliberacon & after full examinacon and consideracon of the premises, drawne upp these answers being such as we finde in our consyences to be true, and shall att all times iustifie them uppon our oathes. In witness whereof wee haue hereunder sett our hands.

"I William Mease Mynister hauinge liued tenn years in Virginia and affirme all the answers aboue, except that of the Ordinance and Pallisadoes. WILLIAM MEASE.

"I Marmaduke Rayner haue gone 3 seuerall M^r of Ships to Virginia and liued 16 moneths there together, and affirm all the answers aboue. MARMADUKE RAYNER.

"I John Proctor haue liued 14 years in Virginia & doe affirme all the answers aboue except that of the Ordinance and Pallysadoes, but I know ther is neer uppon 20 peeces of Ordinance. JOHN PROCTER.

"I William Euens haue gone M^r of Ships to Virginia 4 seuerall times & liued one wholl year ther or ther aboutes and affirme all the answers aboue except that of the Ordinance and Pallisadoes. WILLIAM EWENS.

"I James Carter, M^r of y^e Truloue doe affirme all the answers within written, but y^t I haue not seen the Ordinance att Henrico, and Charles Citty but all the rest I haue. JAMES CARTER.

"I Gregory Pearle hauinge been Maister's mate and liued in Virginia 16 monneths doe affirme all the answers wthin

written saue that I haue not seen the Ordinance at Henrico and Charles Citty.

GREGORY PEARLE.

“ William Green Chirurgeon in the Temperance hauinge liued 17 monneths in Virginia doe affirme all the answers within written except y^t I haue not seen the Ordinance att Henryco.

WILLIAM GREEN SURGEON.

“ I Henry Hitch Chirurgeon of y^e James hauinge been 2 seurall times in Virginia and liued att one time there about 5 monneths doe affirme all the Answers wthin written, saue y^t I know not of y^e matters about James Citty.

HENRY HITCH.

“ I Edward Sanders haueinge liued 3 years in Virginia doe affirme all the answers within written except that of the Ordinance and Pallysadoes and other matters y^t aboue Paspahay.

The marke of E. S. EDWARD SANDERS

“ I John Dennis M^r of y^e Marmaduk affirme all y^e answers within written except y^t of the Guesthouse, y^e Ordinance, & y^e Palisadoes.

JOHN DENNIS.

“ I Tobias Felgate haue gone M^r and Mate of Ships 5 times to Virginia & affirme all the Answeres aboue except that of the Ordinance onely.

TOBIAS FELGATE.

“ I Samuel Mole haue liued 3 years or ther aboutes in Virginia beinge a Chirurgeon and affirme all the answers within written saue that I haue not seen the Ordinance att Henrico & Charles Citty, nor haue been in Henrico.

“ SAMUEL MOLE.

"I Thomas Prosser haue gone 3 times M^{rs} Mate to Virginia and haue liued att one time about 3 qrs of a year there & affirme all the answers within written except that of y^e Ordnance & Pallysadoes. THOMAS PROSSER.

"I Robert Dodson hauinge been twice in Virginia affirme all the answers within written for all matters from James Citty Downeward sauinge y^t I doe not knowe of y^e Proclamaçons for Vines. ROBERT DODSON.

"I Maurice Thompson haue liued 6 years in Virginia doe affirme all y^e answers wthin written saue y^t I know not of the Ordnance att Flowerdue hundred, nor att Henrico and Charles Citty. MAURICE THOMPSON.

"I John Snoade hauinge liued 3 years and halfe in Virginia doe affirme all y^e answers wthin written Sauinge y^t I haue not seen Ordnance at Flowerdue Hundred, Henrico, and Charles Citty. JOHN SNOAD."

On May 7th, a paper based upon the above was read at a meeting of the Company, approved, and ordered to be presented to the King. It was entitled :

"A true Answer to a writingè of Informaçon presented to his Ma^{tie} by Cap. Nath: Butler intituled

"The Vnmasked face of our Colonie in Virginia as it was in y^e winter of y^e yeare 1622."

The conclusion of the answer was in these words :

l / "And touchinge y^e last 3 Articles of y^e said Capt Butlers informaçon wherunto the Said 16 psonns say they cann make no answere, the same beinge either aboue or

without the compass of their knowledge, the Company for the present returne this Answer in briefe.

“To y^e first of their being the 8th Article and conteynge onely a descripcō of deuastation of Two plantacons called Henrico & Charles Citty by the late Massacre by the Infidles, wch might easily indeed haue been preserued if the said Massacre had been foreseen or feared : The Company can say no more, but y^t itt was the unauoydable Calamytie of such a Treacherous Warr but y^e Plantacons as they hope are againe restored according to express order giuen from hence to the Colony.

“To y^e 9th Article conteynge a Complainge of the now Gouvern^t now in Virginia they haue no cause to giue any Credit to the said Information, the same in appearance being grounded uppon the said Captaines discontent, and for y^t hee was not accepted there to sitt in Counsell with them, whereto he could plead neither right nor deserte.

“To y^e last Article beinge a conclusion of all his former misinformations wth addicō allso of some new untruths they say that ther were neuer sent aboue 6000 to Virginia, w^{ch} is short 4000 of his informacon. And y^t in the first 12 years by the best computacon, that can now be made ther hauinge been no Accompt then kept either of their names or nombers, ther were not sent aboue 2500 at the moste wherof there dyed 5000 at Sea.

“They say also that notwithstandinge the Late Massacre and the great mortality w^{ch} hath since ensued occasioned by the effects of the said Massacre, there are yet remayninge alieue in that Colony of Virginia to the number of aboute 2500 psonns wherof good prooffe is to be made, and y^t y^e forsaken plantacons are againe in restoringe, and the Staple Comodities setting upp againe accordinge to the orders from heere.

But touchinge his last clause of the Confusions and pryuate ends of some of the Company here, and the bad executions in secondinge them by ther Agents there they desire that hee may be Comanded to discouer the same in p'ticular befor y^e Commissioners appointed. And in the meane time they p'test against itt as Calamniuous and Slanderous and of the selfe same trouth wth the rest of his Informations."

The following February, the assembly of Virginia answered Capt. Butler's calumnies. In reply to Butler's objection that their houses were meaner than the meanest cottages in England they use the following words :

"Y^e greatest disparagement that some of them receaued, haue pceeded from his Riotts and lasciuious filthiness wth infamous women, purchased with his royalls of eight, and wedges of gould, the spoyle of the distressed Spanyards in the Burmudas."

To the statement that of ten thousand persons transported only two are alive, the General Assembly answer :

"His computatione of tenn Thousande faileth short of fower, and those for the most pte wasted by more then Egiptian slauery and Scythian crueltie w^{ch} was exercysed uppon us your poore and miserable subjects by lawes written in bloud, and executed with all sortes of Tyranie in the tyme of S^r Thomas Smiths Gou^rment wherof we send your Ma^{tie} the trew and tragicall relatione by w^{ch} it may easily appeare that the alleged confusions and priuatt ends will strongly reflect uppon him and his instructors. And how unfitt they are to restore y^t Plantation w^{ch} suffered soe much by that Gouernment, Wee humblie refer to your Princely consideracons Inuokinge that diuine and supream hande to ptect us from such Gouernors & their

ministers who haue poured our blood on the earth like Water, and fatted themselves wth o^r famine in that miserable bondage, but to support us in this iust and gentle Authoritie w^{ch} hath cherished us of late by more worthy magistrates. And we our Wyues and pooer Children, as is our dewtie shall euer pray to God to giue you in this worlde all increse of happiness, and to crowne you in the world to come wth immortall glory."

The Virginia Assembly at the same time transmitted the following "true and tragical relation :"

THE TRAGICAL RELATION OF VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY.

"The answere of the Generall Assembly in Virginia to a Declaratione of the state of the Colonie in the 12 yeers of S^r Thomas Smiths Gouverment, exhibited by Alderman Johnson and others.

"Holdinge it a sinne against God, and ou^r owne sufferinge, to suffer the World to be abused wth untrue reportes, and to giue unto vice the reward of vertue, we in the name of the whole Colonie of Virginia, in our generall assembly, many of us hauing beene eye witnesses and patients of those tymes haue framed out of our duty to this country, and loue unto truth, this Dismaskinge of those prayses w^{ch} are contayned in the foresaid declarationes.

"In those 12 yeers of S^r Tho : Smith his gouernment, we auerr that the Colony for y^e most pte remayned in greate want and misery under most seuere and Crewell lawes sent ouer in printe, and contrary to the expresse Letter of the Kinge in his most gracious Charter, and as mercylessly executed, often times without tryall or Judgment. The allowance in those tymes for a man was only

eight ounces of meale and half a pinte of pease for a daye the one & y^e other mouldy, rotten, full of Cobwebs and Maggotts loathsome to man and not fytt for beasts, w^{ch} forced many to flee for reliefe to the Savage Enemy, who being taken againe were putt to sundry deaths as by hanginge, shootinge and breakinge uppon the wheele & others were forced by famine to filch for their bellies, of whom one for steelinge 2 or 3 pints of oatemeale had a bodkinge thrust through his tounge and was tyed wth a chaine to a tree untill he starued, yf a man through his sicknes had not been able to worke, he had noe allowance at all, and soe consequently perished many through these extremities, being weery of life digged holes in the earth and hidd themselues till they famished.

“ We cannott for this our scarsitie blame our Comanders heere, in respect that o^r sustenance was to come from England, for had they at that time giuen us noe better allowance we had perished in generall, so lamentable was our scarsitie that we were constrained to eat Doggs, Catts, ratts, Snakes, Toad-stooles, horse-hides and w^t nott, one man out of the mysery he endured, killinge his wiefe powdered her upp to eate her, for w^{ch} he was burned. Many besides fedd on the Corps of dead men, and one who had gotten unsatiabie, out of custome to that foode could not be restrayned, until such tyme as he was executed for it, and indeede soe miserable was our estate that the happyest day that euer some of them hoped to see, was when the Indyans had killed a mare they wishing whilst she was boylinge y^t S^r Tho : Smith was uppon her backe in the kettle.

“ And wheras it is afirmed that there were very fewe of his Ma^{ties} subiects left in those dayes and those of the

meanest ranke, we answere y^t for one that now dyes, there then perished fīue, many beinge of Auncyent Howses and borne to estates of 1000^l by the yeere, some more, some less who likewise perished by famine. Those who suruived who had both aduentured theire estates and prsonnes were constrayned to serue the Colony as if they had been slaues, 7 or 8 yeeres for their freedoms, who underwent as hard and seruile labor as the basest fellow that was brought out of Newgate.

“ And for discouery we saye that none was discovered in those 12 yeeres, and in these 4 or 5 last yeers much more than formerly.

“ For o^r howses and churches in those tymes they were so meane and poore by reson of those calamities that they could not stand aboue one or two yeeres, the people neuer goinge to woorke but out of y^e bitternes of theire spirrits threatning execrable curses uppon Sr: Thomas Smith, neither could a blessinge from god be hoped for in those buildings w^{ch} were founded uppon y^e bloud of soe many Christians.

“ The Townes were only James Cyttie, Henryco, Charles hundred, West & Sherley hundred, and Kiccoughtan all w^{ch} in those tymes were ruined alsoe, unless some 10 or 12 howses in y^t Corporation of James Cyttie at this present tyme are 4 for euer one that were there, and forty times exceedinge in goodnesse, fortifications there were none at all against y^e foraigne enemy, and those that were against the domestick very few and contemptible, Bridges there was only one w^{ch} also decayde in that tyme, yf through the forsaid calamities many had not perished we dout not but there might haue been many more than 1000 people in the lande when S^r Thomas Smith left the Gouverment.

“But we conceiue y^t when S^r George Yardly arriued Gouno^r hee found not aboue 400, most of those in want of corne, nearly destitute of cattle, swyne, poultreys and other necessary pvisions to nourish them. Ministers to instruct the people there were some whose sufficiency and ability we will not tax, yet diuers of them had no Orders.

“We knowe not at any time y^t we exceeded in Armes, Powder & munitions, but y^t in quality almost altogether uselesse. We acknowledg in those times there was a tryall made of diuers staple Commodities, the Colony as then not hauinge means to pceed therein, we hope in tyme there may be some better pgressions be made, and had it not bene for the Massacre may by this had bene brought to pfectione, as for boats in the tyme of y^t Gouvermt there was only one left y^t was seruicable in the Colonie, for w^{ch} one besides 4 or 5 Shippes and pynnaces, there are now not so fewe as 40, the barques, and barges y^t then were built in number few, so unwillingly and weakly by the people effected, y^t in the same time they also fished weneuer pceaues y^t the natives of the Countrey did voluntarily yeeld themselves subjects to our gracious Soueraigne, nether that they took any pride in that title, nor puid at any tyme any contrybutione of corne for sustentation of y^e Colony, no^r could we at any tyme keepe them in such good respect of correspondency as we became mutually helpful each to the other but contrarily w^t at any was done pceeded from feare and not loue, and their corne pcured by trade or the sworde.

“To w^t growth of pfectione the Colony hath attained at y^e end of those 22 [12] yeeres wee conceaue may easily be iudged by w^t we haue formerly saide. And rather to be reduced to liue under the like Gouernment we desire his

Ma^{ty} y^t Commissioners may be sent ouer, wth authoritie to hange us.

“Alderman Johnson, one of y^e Authors of this Declaration hath reasone to comend him to whose offences and infamies he is so inseparably chained.

“By y^e generall reporte of y^e Country w^{ch} we neuer hard contradicted, we affirme this to be true wherof all or y^e most pte were eye witnesses or resident in y^e Country when euery pticuler within written were effected.

“WM. TUCKER	FRANCIS WYATT
WM. PEERCE	GEORGE SANDIS
RAWLEY CROSHAW	JOHN POTT
SAMUEL MATHEWS	JOHN POWNTIS
JABEZ WHITTAKER	ROGER SMITH
JOHN WILLCOX	RAPHE HAMOR
NICHOLAS MARTEN	JOHN SOUTHERNE
EDWARD BLANY	SAMUEL SHARPE
ISACK MADISON	HENRY WATKINS
CLEMENT DILKE	NATHANAEL CAUSEY
LUKE BOYSE	RICHARD BIGGE
JOHN UTIE	RICHARD KINGSWELL
JOHN CHEW	JOHN POLLINGTON
RICHARD STAPLES	ROBERT ADDAMS
	GABRIELL HOLLAND
	THOMAS MARLOTT”

Lingsmill

The Earl of Warwick and associates were much chagrined at the papers presented by the Company to the King, and induced the Privy Council on the 13th of May, 1623, to order that Lord Cavendish, Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas and John Ferrar, “chief actors in inditing and penning” “an impertinent declaration containing bitter

invectives and aspersions," should be confined to their houses until further order.

On the 22d the Privy Council directed that all charters, books, letters, and other writings, should be delivered up to the recently appointed Commissioners for Virginia and the Somers Islands.¹

The King was indignant at the action of the Company relative to his letter read at their meeting on 25th of June, "relative to the election of officers, and he ordered the Privy Council to find out whether it was because of the words of their Charter, or a mere pretext to thwart his command, and at the same time the Attorney-General was instructed to examine whether their conduct had not rendered void their charter. The next month, at a meeting of the Virginia or Somers Island Company, Lord Cavendish and the Earl of Warwick engaged in angry debate and one calling the other a liar, a challenge was passed and accepted.

There was great excitement throughout London as the rumor flew from street to street that two such eminent men were about to fight a duel on the continent, and the Privy Council, on the 19th of July, issued an order that all the ports of the kingdom should be carefully watched so that they might not cross the channel. In a few days Cavendish was detected, and arrested at Shoreham in Essex, but Warwick, by disguising himself as a merchant, reached

¹ In a communication from the Virginia and Somers Island Companies found on page 236 of second volume of *Manuscripts. Trans. Virginia Company*, is the following statement: "Some of w^{ch} Letters Patents the verrie originalls, and of other some authentical Coppies haue been transmitted unto the Plantations, and are there remayninge with them."

² See page 380.

the opposite shore, but was taken at Ghent early in August, and ordered to return.¹

Chamberlain, who was always full of court gossip, wrote on July 26th, to Sir Dudley Carleton :

“ The last week, the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cavendish fell so foul at a Virginia or Bermuda’s Court, that the lie passed and repassed, and they are got over to try their fortune, yet we do not hear they are met, so that there is hope they may return safe. In the meantime their ladies forget not their old familiarity, but meet daily to lament their misfortune. The factions in these two Companies are grown so violent, as Guelfs and Gebellines, were not more animated one against another ; and they seldom meet upon the Exchange, or in the streets, but they brabble and quarrell.”

• On the 31st of July, the Attorney-General reported that he had diligently perused the letters patent of the Company, and that it was his opinion that the King could revoke their privileges.

During the rest of the summer, as many members of the Company and Privy Council were out of town, nothing further was done, but at a meeting of the Company, held on Wednesday, October 15th, an order of the Privy Council was read, declaring the King’s intention to remodel the Company, by appointing a governor and twelve assistants

¹ In a letter written by Chichester to the wife of Warwick, on August 12, and first published on June 29, 1867, in *London Notes and Queries*, is this statement : “ Inquiringe of my noble friends what they had heard of the earle, Mr Secretary Calvert told me, that he went from England in a small boate laden with salt, apparalled like a marchant, and beinge inquired after by force of letters written to Mr Trumbull (legat. for his Matie att Brussels), he was found and stayed at Gaunt.”

residents of England, and dependent upon the Privy Council, and also a governor, and twelve assistants, residents in Virginia, to be nominated by the Governor and assistants living in England, and inquiring what action the Company would take on the proposition.

To the communication the Company replied that the surrender of their charter was a matter of such moment, that they asked for time to consider, and stated that the subject would be fully discussed at their next Quarter Court, on the 19th of November, the earliest period their charter gave them power, to make further answer.

The Lords of the Privy Council, not pleased with the reply, peremptorily ordered the Company to bring a direct answer on the next Monday. The question being then referred at the special meeting, only nine voted to surrender the charter, namely: Sir Samuel Argall, Sir Thos. Wroth, Capt. Jno. Martin, Mr. Canning, Mr. Woodall, Martin the Armenian, Molasco a Pole, and two others. Early in November, a quo warranto was issued against the Company."¹

At the regular quarterly meeting on 19th of November, the question of surrendering the charter was fully discussed and rejected, seven persons only voting in favor of the proposition. Steps were also taken to procure their books and papers, which for fourteen days had been sequestered

"Mr Binge hearinge this mocon of petiçoninge the Lords for y^e Companies Books said (as hee was goinge out of the court) that Lett them make as many petiçons as they will, they shall as soone haue a Haulter, as haue them. Wherof present Complaainte beinge made and the words certified

¹ See *Journal of Virginia Company*, Nov. 12, 1623.

by three that ouerheard him, namely by M^r Gilbert Morewood, M^r Wiseman, and M^r Spruson, the Court were much troubled therat, and held itt fitt to be complayned of to the Lords of the Counsell.”¹

The Privy Council restored their books and papers that they might properly answer the quo warranto.

During the debate on the surrender of the charter, Canning, one of the faction, met Keightley, also a member of the Company, on the Exchange, and struck him, for which he was arrested and fined twenty pounds.

On the 26th of April, 1624, M^r Ferrar² presented to the House of Commons a petition from the Virginia Company, and a day was appointed for its consideration. The only entry that appears in the Journal relative to the matter, is on Friday, 29th of April, in these words :

“ M^r Speaker delivereth and readeth a Letter from the King concerning the Virginia Petition. The petition by general Resolution withdrawn.”

A letter written a few days after by Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton gives a very satisfactory account of the proceedings on the petition.

“ On Wednesday last M^r Ferrar, deputy of the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys, Lord Cavendish, and Sir John Danvers made relation of proceedings; they layed the great load

¹ Coventry, the Attorney General, in explaining why Bing was not placed with Butler, Pory and Wrote in the commission of July, 1624, wrote that he was “ somewhat light ” “ a mere good fellow, of no estate, who for offensive behaviour to Lord Southampton had been committed to the Marshalsea.” *Sainsbury*, p. 65.

² Nicholas Ferrar was a member of the House, representing Lymington, in Southampton Co.

upon the Lord Treasurer,¹ charged the commissioners appointed by the King to report upon the cause, with extreme partiality, and accused Sir Nath. Rich of being an active ill-instrument. At the time when the Commissioners were to examine Sir Edwin Sandys, and the former governors as to their governments, he was commanded by the Lord Treasurer, in the King's name to go out of town. The King disavowed it, and gave Sandys liberty to return.

"The business appearing very foul, many at first unwilling were now content to have it ripped up. Next day the King forbade the House to proceed any further, the matter having been specially recommended to his Council. His Majesty feared that troubles to quiet which much pains had already been taken, might be stirred again, by the House meddling with them.

"This was assented to by a general silence, but not without soft muttering, that any other business, in the same way, might be taken out of the hands of Parliament."²

The case of the Company was called up at the Trinity Term of the King's Bench, in 1624. The plea of Coventry, the Attorney-General, for revoking the charter, was:

"That it was in general an unlimited, vast patent. In particular, the main inconvenience was, that by the words of the charter, the Company had a power given them to

¹ Lionel Cranfield, now Earl of Middlesex, and the Lord Treasurer, was a corrupt man, and on the 19th of May, about one month after the charter of the Company was declared null and void, the House appointed Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Ferrar to draw up a petition to the King complaining of his bribery and extortion. The result of the investigation led to his being deprived of office, fined £50,000, and committed to the Tower.

² *Sainsbury, Cal. State Papers*, pp. 61, 62.

carry away, and transport to Virginia, as many of the King's loving subjects as were desirous to go thither. And consequently, he said, by exercising this liberty, they may in the end carry away all the King's subjects into a foreign land."¹

On the 16th of June, the last day of the term, Chief Justice Ley declared :

"That the Patent or Charter of the Company of English Merchants trading to Virginia, and pretending to exercise a power and authority over his Majestys good subjects there, should be thenceforth null and void."²

Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, expressed the joy of the Court party in a letter to a kinsman, Christopher Wandesforde :

"Yesterday, Virginia Patent was overthrown at the King's Bench, so an end to that plantations savings. Me-thinks, I imagine the Quaternity before this have had a meeting of comfort and consolation, stiring up each other to bear it courageously, and Sir Edwin Sandys in the midst of them sadly sighing forth, oh ! the burden of Virginia."³ On the 26th, the Privy Council ordered Nicholas Ferrar, Deputy for the late Company of Virginia, to bring all papers and books concerning the late Corporation, and deposited with the keeper of the Council chest until further order.

To avoid the "popularnes" of the Virginia government, the King on the 15th of July, issued a proclamation appointing a number of commissioners to take charge of the

¹ *Peckard's Ferrar*, p. 145.

² *I dem.*

³ *Strafford Dispatches*, p. 21.

ERRATA.

Page 50	Wanaskoyaks,	should read	Waraskoyaks.
" 111	George Wedd,	" "	George Webb.
" 231	Archee's Hope,	" "	Archer's Hope.
" 232	Hant Wyatt,	" "	Hant Wyatt.
" 233	Nich. Tinn,	" "	Nich. Ferrar.
" 238	Mr. Butleaf,	" "	Mr. Butler.
" 240	Indreton Winston,	" "	Dr. Tho's Winston.
" "	Nicho. Ferren,	" "	Nicho. Ferrar.
" "	Thr: Sheaspeard,	" "	Tho. Sheperd.
" 241	Genge,	" "	George.
" 249	Miles Puckett,	" "	Miles Pirkett.
" 250	Jo. Ferrar,	" "	Jo. Ferrar.
" "	Nicho. Ferrad,	" "	Nicho. Ferrar.
" 252	In 1678,	" "	In 1688.
" 278	September,	" "	December.
" 282	demerrite,	" "	merite.
" 338	Mr. Parey,	" "	Mr. Porey.
" 376	Wadriscoyaks,	" "	Warriscoyaks.
" 377	April 10, 1623,	" "	April 10, 1633.

381. 1864

" " 1624



INDEX.

A.

- A true answer to Capt. Butler's Calumnies, 404-406.
Abbott, Maurice, 178, 300.
Abdy, Mr., 300.
Academy at Palmer's Island, 315.
Accomack settlement, 282; planters proposed removal to, 360.
Aconack-china, name of people, 337.
✓ Acts of first Virginia legislature, 140, 173, 175.
Adams, Capt., 30.
Advice to first colonists, 8.
Alexander, Sir W., alludes in a poem to America, 81; proprietor of Nova Scotia, 81.
Allen, Edward, stage player, 316.
Ambergis, 54, 55, 56, 59.
America referred to by poets, 81.
American Antiquarian Society's publications, 16.
Amidas, early explorers, 69.
Ammunition and men promised to Virginia, 324.
Amsterdam, ships from, 220; people in fur trade, 267.
Annual Sermon of Virginia Company, 260, 360; postponed, 332.
Annual supper of Virginia Company, 382.
Anthony, Dr. Francis, 150, 233, 250, 266.
Apothecaries needed, 171.
Apothecary, an, offers his services, 206.
Apparel, excess of, in Virginia, 141, 322.
Appomattox river, 223.
plantation, list of slain at, 340.
- Archer, Gabriel, Virginia councillor, 16; returns to England, 20; opposes President Wingfield, 21; accompanies Gates and Somers, 30; his letter from Jamestown, 31.
Argall, Capt. Samuel, first arrival in Virginia, 30, 32; court martials Edward Brewster, 41, 120; sails with Somers for provisions, 44; names Delaware bay, 49; visits Potomac river, 50; attacks the Warasquoyaks, 50; accompanies Lord Delaware to England, 51; arrives at Point Comfort in 1612, 85; visits England in 1614, 66; commands ship Treasurer, 75; abducts Pocahontas, 86; builds a ship at Point Comfort, 87; visits Powhatan with Sir Tho. Dale, 87; visits England in 1616, 113; made deputy governor of Virginia, 113; announces drowning of Rev. Mr. Whitaker, 113; asks for ordination of Maccock and Wickham, 113; his ship brings negroes to Virginia, 120; charges of corruption against, 114, 180; escapes from Virginia, 127, 135, 179; course toward Capt. Brewster disapproved, 187; mention of, 259, 282, 384, 414.
Arms wanted in Virginia, 297; coat of, for Virginia, 155.
Arsahattocks, 74.
Articles of Leyden Church, 122, 136.
Arundell, Lord, 3, 173, 175, 176, 199.
Attorney General Coventry, in favor of taking away Virginia Company's charter, 413, 416.

Augustine's, St., "City of God" presented, 197.
Ayers, Mr., 251, 253.

B.

Bacon, Sir Francis, 62.
Balloting box, 172, 191, 216, 302.
Bamfield, Mr., 273.
Bamfourde, Mr., 169, 253.
Bargrave, Capt. John, 188, 313.
Bargrave, Rev. Mr., nephew of Dr. Bargrave, 138; bequeaths library to college, 139.
Barwick, Capt. Thos., takes over ship-builders, 308, 373.
Basse, Nathaniel, Gent., 194; authorized to invite New England colonists, 194.
Basse's Choice Plantation, 194.
Bateman, Mr., 300.
Baylie, Capt., 60.
Beads made by Italians, 287.
Beer, bad, of Duppa, 379.
Bell, Robert, 299.
Bennet, Edward, plantation of, 194; slain at, 345; patent to, 261; his tract on Tobacco, 207; commended, 250.
Bennet, Rev. William, 194.
Bennet, Richard, 194.
Bennet, Robert, captain, 194.
Berkeley, John, patent to, 182; builds iron works, 227, 283; killed by savages, 320, 338.
Berkeley, Maurice, 283, 329, 369; to return to England, 372.
Berkeley plantation, list of killed, 338; Hundred, 341.
Bermuda Hundred, 109.
Bermudas, Gates and Somers at, 33, 56; Somers sails for, 43; sold by Virginia Company, 53, 56; ship Plough sails for, 53; Shakespeare alludes to, 54.
Beverstone Castle, Gloucester, 227.
Bikar's plantation, slain at, 343.
Bing, Mr., insulting speech of, 414.
Blackwell, Francis, Amsterdam elder, 127; dies on way to Virginia, 127.
Blany, Ed., keeper of colony magazine, 242, 246, 250, 263, 277, 354.
Blessing, ship, arrival of, 31.
Bloodhounds to chase Indians, 321.
Bluett, Mr., of Virginia Council, 189.

Blunt Point fortification, 305, 352.
Boats not to trade with Indians, 238.
Bohun, Dr., physician general, 48, 51, 182, 200; grant of land to, 168.
Bolling, Jane, wife of Richard Randolph, 224.
Bolton, Rev. Mr., 220, 224.
Bonnoel, J., silkworm raiser to king, 253, 310; Treatise on Silkworms, 258.
Bow Church, Copland's sermon at, 377.
Boys, John, member of first legislature, 140.
Boys transported in ship Duty, 356, 374.
Breach of promise of marriage, 383.
Brewster, Capt. Edward, ascends James river with despatches to Gates, 41; attacks Waraskoyaks, 50; false charges against, 120, 187; conforms to the church, 129, 167; his case considered by Virginia Company, 187; sketch of
Brewster, William and son Edward, 41.
Brewster, William, subscribes Leyden articles, 129; departs from Leyden, 129, 333.
Brickmakers for College, 380.
Bridewell prisoners transported, 167.
Briggs, Henry, on north-west passage, 337.
Brinsley, John, schoolmaster, 273; his consolation for Grammar Schools, 274.
Brooke, Christo., of Lincoln's Inn, 68, 155, 186.
Browne, Mr., lives among Waraskoyaks, 316.
Buck, Rev. Richard, sails with Gates and Somers, 33, 34; preaches before Lord Delaware, 42; christens an infant of Rolfe, 88; resides at Jamestown, 111; chaplain first Legislature, 139; idiot child of,
Buffalo described, 27.
Burras, Ann, 22.
Butler, Nath., his slanders, 395; answered, 406; appointed a commissioner for Virginia, 418.

C.

Calvert, Secretary, George, 1; about a deer stealer, 145; about transportation of criminals, 154; is written to, by Virginia Company, 164, 299, 300, 310, 413, 418.

- Canning, Mr. Wm., 154, 168, 188, 189, 292; assaults Keightley, 415.
 Cape Charles, 44, 49.
 Cape Cod named by Gosnold, 2; Argall steers for, 49; May Flower arrives at, 182; fisheries, 192, 196; Delbridge desires to fish at, 165.
 Cape Henry, 37, 44, 51.
 Cape La Warr, 50.
 Capp, Wm, member first legislature, 139.
 Carey, Lord, 266.
 Carolina, 199.
 Caroloff, Mr., and East India School, 257.
 Caron, Sir Noel, 81.
 Carter, Capt., of the True Love, 402.
 Carver, John, Leyden nonconformist, 124.
 Caswell, Mr., 104, 361.
 Cattle for Virginia, 159, 196, 240, 307; of Mr. Woodall, 373.
 Catto, Sir Thomas, 150.
 Cavendish, Lord, 186, 273, 302, 311; alludes to Johnson's petition, 389; alludes to Butler's slanders, 395; quarrels with Warwick, 412; contemplated duel with Warwick, 412.
 Chamberlain, on Pocahontas's capture, 87; on Pocahontas going to the play, 97; sends Pocahontas's picture, 98; letters to Sir D. Carleton, 18, 52, 55, 65.
 Chapman's mask played, 61; Ode on Virginia Voyage, 22.
 Charles city, 178; list of slain at, 340; East India School at, 255, 309.
 Charter, first, of Virginia Company, 8; second, 23; last, 53.
 Chesapeake explored by Pory, 338.
 Chester, Jas., captain of the Southampton, 367.
 Chicahominie, council at, 91.
 Children.
 China box among the Indians, 337.
 Chiskiack.
 Christ's Hospital.
 Church, donation for, 314.
 Churches and houses poorly built, 409.
 Claiborne, Wm., surveyor, 225; at Kent Island, 225; at Pamunkey, 225; described by Quaker preacher, 225.
 Clare Hall, Cambridge.
 Clarke, John, pilot of May-Flower, 132; hired by Daniel Gookin, 133.
 Cleopatra, sister of Pocahontas, 105.
 Clergymen; see ministers.
 Cletheroe, Christopher, 146, 300, 302.
 Clinton, Thos., Earl of Lincoln, 127; recommends Jno. Wencopp, 127; sons in law at Salem, 128.
 Clovell, Eustace, shot by Indians, 17.
 Coats of mail presented, 362.
 Cockaine, Sir William, letter to, 160.
 College, receipts for, 184; see education.
 Collingwood, Ed., Sec. of Virginia Company, 191, 333, 339.
 Colony, first, of Virginia Company, 8; second, 4.
 Copper, specimens of, 272.
 Copland, Rev. Patrick, 251, 372, 377.
 Corn, Indian, produces sickness, 237.
 Corn, scarcity of, 296, 324, 370.
 Councillors, first, in Virginia, 55.
 Cradock, Lt., of Dales-Gift, 111.
 Cranfield, Lionel, 117, 416.
 Cranmer, Mr., 168, 186, 191.
 Crashaw, Raleigh, 22.
 Crashaw, Rev. Wm., his sermon, 85; describes Bermudas, 54; on stage players, 64.
 Crocodiles presented to King James, 14.
 Crouch, Lt. Richard, 314.
 Crow, John, patent to, 261.
 Cruelties to colonists, 408.
 Cushman, Robert, Leyden nonconformist, 124, 132, 143.

D.

- Dale, Lady Fanny, wife of Sir. Thos., 77, 93, 368.
 Dale, Sir. Thos., expedition of, 51; at Henrico, 52; his early career, 73; quarrels with Newport, 73; writes for colonists, 74; proclaims martial law, 75; takes Pocahontas to England, 76, 96; goes to Holland, 76; commands East India fleet, 77; treaty with Indians, 92; proposal for sister of Pocahontas, 93.
 Dales-Gift, described by Rolfe, 111.
 Damyron, captain of ship Duty, 167.
 Danver, Sir John, 101, 117, 150, 151, 154, 164, 173, 186, 191, 240, 249, 266, 273, 311.
 Darnelly, Mr., 259.
 Davenport, Rev. John, asked to preach, 260.
 Davies, captain of the Virginia, 30, 37, 49.

Davis, Thos., member of first Legislature, 139.
 Davison, Christopher, Secretary of Colony, 215, 224, 286, 333.
 Deane's edition of Wingfield's Discourse, 16.
 Declaration of State of Virginia, 193.
 Deer stealer transported, 145.
 Delaware Bay, so named by Argall, 49;
 River, exploration of, 220, 229, 263.
 Delaware, Lord, Capt. Gen. of Virginia, 24; letter from, 35; arrives at Cape Henry, 37; meets the Virginia, 38; sends Capt. Brewster to Gates, 41; arrives at Jamestown, 42; appoints officers, 42, 43; sickness and return, 51; second voyage to Virginia, 114; his death, 124.
 Delbridge, John, No. P. and Cape Cod fishery, 165, 266.
 Dennis, John, captain of Marmaduke, 403.
 Devonshire, 311.
 Diamond, ship, arrives, 31.
 Digges, Sir Dudley, 113, 150.
 Dike, Mr., schoolmaster, 256.
 Discovery, ship, Capt. Jones, 293, 307.
 Dispute of North and South Colony, 173, 175, 176.
 Dodson, Robert, his testimony, 404.
 Donation of Mrs. Mary Robinson, 181;
 Patrick Copland, 251; Dust and Ashes, 169, 257.
 Doncaster, Viscount, 186.
 Doune, John, Dean of Paul's, 360.
 Downes, Edward, scholar in Virginia, 379.
 Dowse, Thos., of first legislature, 139.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 2.
 Drayton, poem on Virginia Voyage, 14;
 his mask, 24.
 Drunkenness, penalty for, 140.
 Duel of Warwick and Cavendish stopped, 413.
 Duppa's bad beer, 377.
 Dutchmen erect saw mills, 227, 242, 285;
 in Delaware, 261.

E.

Each, captain of ship Abigail, 304, 325, 352, 375.
 East India Company employs Capt. Newport, 52; Free School in Vir-

East India Company, continued —
 ginia, 25, 256, 269, 333; Free School, carpenters for, 309.
 Education in Virginia, 254, 287, in College at Henrico, 117, 137, 147, 150, 184, 329; president for College proposed, 137; library left to college, 139; collections for College, 137, 147, 156; communion set for College, 152.
 Election of Company officers opposed by King James, 177, 184; Sir Edwin Sanders, as treasurer, 143 - 145; Earl of Southampton, 189, 213, 300.
 Elfred, Capt., 120.
 Elizabeth City, 178; River plantation, 192.
 Emery, Mr., killed by Indians, 19.
 Engineer, request for, 297.
 Engrossing, crime of, 369.
 Epps, Wm., kills Capt. Stallenge, 163.
 Euens, Capt. W., 402.

F.

Factions in the Company, 413.
 Falling Creek Iron Works, 338; list of killed at, 339.
 Fees, oppressive, 232.
 Felgate, Capt. Tobias, 403.
 Ferrar, John, notice of, 191, Dep., Treasurer, 145, 146, 150, 151, 191, 233, 240, 250, 253, 266, 273, 311;
 Ferrar, Nicholas, Jr., 384; elected deputy, 302; eulogy on Ruggle, 363; re-elected, 384; member of parliament, 415; mention of, 233, 240, 250, 253, 266, 273, 311, 359, 417.
 Ferrar, Nicholas, Sr., notice of, 182, 183.
 Ferrar, Virginia, notice of, 191.
 Ferrar, William, Councillor, 183; plantation slain at, 341; marries widow Jordan, 383.
 Ferrar's, Mr., house, 189.
 Fishery at Cape Cod, 165, 192.
 Fitch, Capt. Matthew, 30.
 Flowerdiu, slain at, 342.
 Fontaine, Rev. Peter, 97.
 Force, Historical Tracts, 75.
 Forest, Mrs., arrival in Virginia, 22.
 Forestalling the market, 245.
 Fortifications, 278, 294, 304, 325.
 Forts to be built at Blunt Point, 270, 305.
 Fotherby, Sec. of Virginia Company, resigns, 191.

Francke, Dan, a convict, 347.
 Free School, 269.
 French Fur Traders, 230; vine dressers, 241. 270
 Frenchmen desire to go to Virginia, 240; supplies for, 242; young, sent to Cape Newce, 247.
 Fur trade in Delaware and Hudson, 263, 264, 267, 338 voyage of Capt. Jones, 373.

G.

Galthorp's intended mutiny, 21.
 Gates, Sir Thos., early member of Virginia Company, 3; first voyage to Virginia, 29, 57, in Netherlands; arrival at Jamestown, 34; abandons Jamestown, 38; visits England, 50; wife's death, 51; his daughters, 52; second voyage, 51; third voyage, 75; at meeting of Company, 151.
 Gats, Daniel, captain of the Darling, 261.
 Gibbs, Lieut., 140.
 Gibbs, Mr., 169, 186, 233, 250, 253, 260, 273, 311.
 Gilbert Raleigh, 3.
 Girls, poor, sent to Virginia, 121.
 Glass works, 231, 284, 306, 373.
 Gondomar, Spanish ambassador, 186.
 Gookin, Daniel, Jr., friend of Eliot, 196.
 Gookin, Daniel, notice of, 196; takes cattle from Ireland, 196, 218, 240; owns ship Providence, 133; at Newport News, 314; visits England, 317.
 Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 131, 133; and Cape Cod fishery, 165; disputes with Virginia Company, 175; obtains new patent, 195.
 Gosnold, Anthony, early planter, 257.
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, early planter, 257.
 Gosnold, Capt. Barth., expedition of, '1; names Cape Cod, 2; explores Virginia, 10; death of, 18; cautions Wingfield, 21.
 Gouge, Rev. Wm., 103.
 Gourgainy, Mr., 140.
 Grants of land, 168.
 Graves, Thomas, 140.
 Green, Surgeon W., 403.
 Greenland Company, 2.
 Grocers' Company, 66.

Guest Houses, 230, 236, 271, 284, 392.
 Guiana, 182, 197.
 Gulston, Dr. Theodore, 97, 150, 231, 233, 250, 266.

H.

Hakluyt, Richard, notice of, 2; historiographer, 2; translates "Virginia richly valued," 26; commends John Pory, 135; his son Edward, 217.
 Hamerley, Alderman, 299, 300.
 Hamford, Mr., 300, 301.
 Hamor, Ralph, visits England, 88; writes a narrative, 88; seeks Indian wife for Sir Thos. Dale, 93; mention of, 318, 362, 364.
 Hampton; see Kecoughtan.
 Hannam, Thomas, 3.
 Harrope, Dr. Pott's plantation, 221.
 Harvey, Governor, 248.
 Harwood, Mr., 237, 311.
 Hassell, Capt. Robert, 312, 313.
 Haughton, Lord, 302.
 Hawley, Jerome, 248.
 Heath, recorder of London, 168, 182.
 Henrico, 75, 108, 188, 178; list of killed at, 340.
 Herbert, George, refers to America, 81.
 Herbert, Mr., 173, 186, 190.
 Heriot, Thomas, 17, 284.
 Hext, Sir Ed., on kidnapped girls, 121.
 Hide, Nicholas, 260.
 Hide, Sir Lawrence, 186.
 Hitch, Surgeon Henry, 403.
 Hobson, John, 194.
 Hog Island, 41.
 Hole, William, engraver, 155.
 Holloway, Mr., 173.
 Hopkins, Stephen, a Puritan, 34.
 Horton, Mrs., her servant girl marries, 34.
 Howard, Theophilus, 311.
 Howes, the chronicler, 298.
 Hudleston, John, Capt. of Bona Nova, 261.
 Hudson, Leonard, carpenter, 309.
 Hudson River, trade in, 220, 229, 261.
 Hunt, Rev. Robert, first clergyman, 17.

I.

Indian girl sick in England, 102; girl married at Bermudas, 105; edu-

Indian, continued —

cation, 169, 170; religion and astronomy, 279; massacre on Good Friday, 293; villages burned, 364; extermination urged, 322, 330, 364, 365, 391.
 Indians not to receive guns, 12; not to be told of deaths, 12; not to be subdued, 28; naked slaves of the devil, 85; intermarriage alleged, 85; treat with Dale, 91; to be chased with bloodhounds, 321.
 Ireland, transportation from, 178, 336; cattle from, 196, 218, 229.
 Irish Plantation, 285; ship, the captain a Dutchman, 286.
 Iron ore taken to England, 20; sold to E. I. Company, 22.
 Iron works, 239, 270, 283, 303, 337.
 Isle of Wight plantation, 194.
 Italian glass workers, 236, 284.

J.

Jackson, John, 140.
 Jacob, Rev. Henry, 194.
 James the First wants squirrels, 44; letter to Virginia Company, 380.
 Jamestown, first arrival at, 16; attacked by Indians, 17; called Jacobolis, 18; rude church of, 20; want of food at, 44; described by Rolfe, 110; in Yeardley's day, 138.
 Jefferson, Mr., 140.
 Johnson, Alderman Robert, 107, 144, 146, 178, 292; abuses Sir E. Sandys, 151; charges against Virginia Company, 387.
 Johnson, Ben, his Mask of Christmas, 97; allusion to Pocahontas, 100.
 Johnson, Cornelius, captain of Gookin's ship, 286.
 Jones, captain of the Falcon, 171.
 Jones, Capt. Thos., of the Discovery, 261, 264, 267, 373; notice of, 316.
 Jopassus, Indian chief, 89.
 Jordan, Samuel, 139, 315; widow marries Wm. Ferrar, 383.

K.

Kawasha, in Mask of Flowers, 63.
 Keane, Richard, 248.

Kecoughtan, now Hampton, occupied by Gates, 51; described by Rolfe, 111.
 Keightley, Mr., 169, 173, 186, 191; sues Canning for assault, 415.
 Kendall, John, of Virginia Council, 15; deposed, 18.
 Kendall, Miles, negro stealer, 120.
 Kentish men, patent for, 150.
 Kidnapping of girls, 121.
 Kighotan, 178.
 King, Captain, 30.
 King James, orders dissolute to Virginia, 154; sends message to Virginia Company, 177; dislikes Sir E. Sandys; nominates officers for Virginia Company, 300; letter to Virginia Company, 380; reorganizes Virginia Company, 418.
 King's Forest, in Virginia, 312.
 Kirkham, Mr., 177.

L.

Lapworth, Mr., 227.
 Launce, Rev. Mr., prays for the Colony, 314.
 Lawne, Christopher, 140, 194.
 Laws for the Colony, 75.
 Lawton, Jo., 311.
 Leate, Nicholas, 300.
 Leate, Rev. Wm., 309; death of, 394.
 Leech, Mr., 233, 281.
 Leeke, Simeon, patent to, 261.
 Legislature, the first, 139, 142.
 Leicester, 292.
 Lenox, duke of, 199.
 Letters of Dust and Ashes, 169, 287.
 Letters of Governor and Council of Virginia, January, 1621-22, 274; April, 1622, 293; January, 1622-23, 363.
 Letters of Virginia Company, July 25, 1621, 223; Aug. 21, 233; Sept. 11, 241; Nov. 20, 263; Dec. 5, 267; June 10, 1622, 302; Aug. 1, 322; Oct. 7, 347; May 2, 1623, 391.
 Leverett, Dep. Gov. of Mass. to Boyle, 197.
 Levinge, Mr., patent to, 261.
 Ley, Judge, decides against Virginia Company, 417.
 Leyden, Independent church at, 123; articles, 123.
 Leyden people opposed by bishops, 127; winked at by the king, 127; obtain

Leyden, continued—

a patent in name of John Wincopp, 128; obtain second patent, 129; invited to Manhattan, 130; land at New Plymouth, 131.
 Lincoln, Earl of; see Clinton.
 Livery companies of London, 25.
 London vagabond children, 161.
 Lorkin, Rev. Thos., and proposed college, 138.
 Lotteries, 25, 64.
 Lusty youths transported, 237.
 Luxuries discountenanced, 242.

M.

Macar's, Owen, plantation, slain at, 342.
 Macock, Samuel, a Cambridge scholar, 113, 139, 286; killed by Indians, 320.
 Madison, Capt., 100, 174, 203.
 Magazine of goods, 277.
 Maids sent for wives, 234, 262, 263; unmarried to have good masters, 247; marriage terms, 235, 246; in ships Tiger and Marmaduke, 245; carefully selected, 246.
 Maid's Town, 298.
 Mansell, Robert, 292.
 Manwaring, Sir P., describes Yeardley, 134.
 Map by Virginia Ferrar, 191.
 Martin, Brandon, slain at, 344.
 Martin, Capt. John, member of first Council, 15; opposes Wingfield, 19; with Somers and Gates, 30; master of Iron Works, 48; returns from England, 113; complained of by Rolfe, 141; certificate to, 292; his request not granted, 289, 292; concerning King's Forest, 312; displaced by Lord Delaware, 313.
 Martin, John, the Persian, 378.
 Martin, Richard, attorney of Virginia Company, 68; before Parliament, 70; begs pardon, 71.
 Martin's Hundred, 140, 179, 237, 242, 247, 259, 358, 375; slain at, 344.
 Maryland, marriage in, 248.
 Massacre by Indians, 293, 316, 319; relation of, by Waterhouse, 317.
 Mastiffs to chase Indians, 321.
 Matchopongo, 50.
 Matthew, Archbishop of York, 25.
 May-Flower, ship, 132, 133.

Mease, Rev. Wm., notice of, 111.

Merchant Tailor's Company, 25.

"Mercure Francois," account of first Virginia voyage, 15, 17.

Mellinge, Mr., 168, 361.

Middleton, Mr., 189.

Mill, first in Virginia, 283.

Ministers of Gospel, names of:

Bennett, Rev. Wm., 194.
 Bolton, Rev. Robert, 220, 224.
 Buck, Rev. Richard, 33, 111.
 Copland, Rev. Patrick, 251, 256, 377.
 Davenport, Rev. John, 260.
 Fontaine, Rev.
 Gouge, Rev. Wm., 103.
 Harrison, Rev. Thos., 252.
 Hopkins, Rev., 315.
 Hunt, Rev., 17.
 Launce, Rev., 314.
 Leate, Rev., 309, 314.
 Lorkin, Rev. Thos., 254.
 Mease, Rev. Wm., 111.
 Paulet, Rev. Robert, 311.
 Pemberton, Rev., 314.
 Peters, Rev. Hugh, 252.
 Staples, Rev., 271, 378.
 Stockton, Rev., 224.
 Thomas, Rev., 243, 278.
 Whitaker, Rev. Alex., 113.
 White, Rev. Andrew, 248.
 Wickham, Wm., 224.
 Wyatt, Rev. Hant, 223, 224.

Ministers of Gospel, offer services, 217; in Yeardley's time, 138.

Mole, Samuel, Surgeon, 403.

Montgomery, Earl of, 97, 293.

Moore, captain of the Swallow, 30.

N.

Nanamack, Indian lad, dies in England, 96.

Nansemonds attacked by Yeardley, 364.

Negroes, brought by ship Treasurer, 120; census of, in 1624, 121.

Nelson, Capt., arrives at Jamestown, 22.

Nemenachanew, a chief, 366.

Nettersole, Sir Francis, 177.

Newce, Sir Wm., Marshal of Virginia, 178, 218; death of, 374.

Newce, Thos., superintendent of lands, 178, 189, 232, 266, 304; sends home white earth, 228; to have cattle from Ireland, 229; widow of, 331, 362.

New England, name of, 206.
 New Englanders invited to Virginia, 194.
 Newfoundland, Gates and Somers sail for, 41.
 New Netherlands Co., and Leyden non-conformists, 180.
 Newport, Capt. Christopher, and first expedition, 5; to explore for two months, 8; to select a site, 9; to write a narrative, 18; presents crocodiles to king, 14; returns to England, 17; second voyage to Virginia, 19; visits Powhatan, 20; second return to England, 22; third voyage, 22; wrecked with Gates and Somers, 81; retires from Virginia, 52; master in Royal Navy, 52; goes to Persia, 52; beard pulled by Dale, 73.
 Newport, John, only son of captain, 164.
 Newport News, 196; Gookin's land at, 814.
 Norfolk, Upper, 176.
 North, Lord, 186.
 North, Capt., 186.
 North, Charles, patent to, 261.
 North Virginia Colony, 165; disputes about fisheries, 173, 175, 176, 195, 198.
 — Norton, Capt. Wm., and glass works, 281, 810; and Italians, 286, 284.

O.

Oak trees, to be cut down and barked, 239.
 Oath taken by President of Virginia Council, 6.
 Offley, Robert, 800.
 Olevan, Anthony, 194.
 Opochankano, 100, 171, 279, 316, 362, 366.
 Orders for first expedition, 6.
 Ordinance by ship Charles, 265.
 Owens, Richard, plantation slain at, 842.

P.

Pace, Mr., notifies Governor of massacre, 820.
 Pagett, Lord, 169, 266, 273.
 Palmer, Edward, sketch of, 815.
 Palmer's Island, 197; academy at, 197.
 Pamunkeys, attacked, 264.

Paramore, Mr., 215.
 Parker, William, 5.
 Parkinson, Lt., explores the Potomac, 337, 338.
 Parliament, seat of Sir George Somers vacated; remarks on Virginia Company, 67.
 Passe, Simon, engraving of Pocahontas, 98.
 Passenger register to be kept, 359.
 Patent, new, for company, draft of, 205.
 Patents granted in 1619, 182; recommended and granted, 815, 884.
 Paulett, Rev. Mr., 140, 281, 286, 311.
 Pearle, Gregory, 403.
 Peirce, Abm., plantation, slain at, 340.
 Peirce, John and Leyden, people, 129; and associates, 138, 170; patent of land to, 168.
 Peirce, Thomas, plantation, slain at, 345.
 Pemberton, Rev. Mr.
 Pembroke, Earl of, 284, 292.
 Percy, George, 81, 82, 84, 42, 51.
 Perkins, Rev. Dr., works presented, 197.
 Perry's, Mr., Indian, reveals the plot to kill, 320.
 Persons, Elizabeth, married, 34.
 Peters, Rev. Hugh, 252.
 Pett, Capt., 80.
 Phillips, Eleanor, takes a male convict, 347.
 Physician General Dr. Bohun, 200.
 Physicians, want of, 171.
 Pierse, Thos., sergeant-at-arms, 139.
 Pine masts sent to England, 52.
 Pirkett, Miles, 249.
 Pitch and tar, 238.
 Plantations to be resettled, 828.
 Pochins, son of Powhatan, 51.
 Pocahontas, described in True Relation, 83; described in General History, 83; described by Strachey, 84, 85; abduction of, 86; in England, 97; portrait of, 98; death of, 98; Ben Jonson alludes to, 100; her child, 101.
 Point Comfort, 32, 74, 87, 98.
 Pollington, John, 131.
 Polonians enfranchised, 153.
 Poole, Robert, 182.
 Pooley, Mr., complains of widow Jordan, 883.
 Popham Colony, 80.
 Popham, George, 3.
 Population of Virginia, 111; in 1611, 51; in 1619, 179.

Pory, John, Secretary of Colony, 185, 189, 142, 178, 221, 226, 304, 418; sketch of, 135, 186.
 Potomac River explored, 337.
 Pott, John, M.D., 221, 224, 286; sketch of, 221.
 Pountis, John, Vice Admiral, 189, 226, 234, 236, 272, 280, 286, 376.
 Powell, Capt. W., 139, 364.
 Powell, Nathaniel, killed by Indians, 320; plantation, slain at, 348.
 Powell, Thomas, cook of Somers, 34.
 Powhatan, 20, 90, 91, 93.
 Poyntz, Mr., patent to, 182.
 Presbyterian Colony, 127.
 Pring, Martin, captain of Royal James, 314.
 Privy Council and the Company, 390; demands the charter, 412.
 Prosser, Thomas, 404.
 Publications on Virginia numerous, 25.
 Purchas, Rev. Samuel, 64; and case of widow Jordan, 383.
 Puritans of Leyden, 122; defined by King James, 122; in Virginia, 184.

R.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 69, 197, 284; son of, 379.
 Randolph, John, of Roanoke, 105.
 Randolph, Richard, marries great granddaughter of Pocahontas, 105.
 Rappahannock Indians, 364.
 Ratcliffe, Capt. John, 6, 15, 19, 31.
 Rayner, Capt. Marmaduke, 175, 220, 402.
 Read, James, blacksmith, early settler, 289; Isabella, his widow, 289.
 Register book for emigrants, 359.
 Rich, Sir Nathaniel, 150, 151.
 Rider, Mr., and annual supper, 361.
 Roanoke settlement, 16, 199; country explored, 220.
 Roberts, Mr., 104, 253.
 Robinson, a clerk, kidnaps girls, 121.
 Robinson, Mary, donation for church, 181; a settler, killed by Indians, 19.
 Robinson, Rev. John, of Leyden, 124, 197.
 Rocroft, Capt., alias Stallenge, 163.
 Roe, Sir Thomas, 175, 178, 192, 196.
 Rolfe, John, quoted by Purchas, 105; describes Virginia, 107, 108; his child born at Bermudas, 34; early

Rolfe, continued —
 tobacco planter, 94; with Pocahontas in England, 97; Secretary of Colony, 98; his widow and children, 102; complains of Capt. Martin, 141.
 Rolfe, Thomas, son of Pocahontas, 98.
 Rossingham, Mr., 140.
 Ruggle, George, author of "Ignoramus," 362; legacy for Indian education, 362; Nicholas Ferrar's eulogy of, 363.
 Russel, Sir W., 300.

S.

Sackville, Sir Edward, rebuked, 390.
 Sagadahoc river, 49; pinnace Virginia built at, 30.
 St. John, Lord, presents coats of mail, 362.
 St. Michael's church, 360.
 St. Sythe's, 379.
 Salt works, 270.
 Sanders, Edward, 403.
 Sandys, George, Treasurer of Virginia, 101, 208, 223, 236, 284, 308, 309, 356, 364, 376; Drayton's poem to, 208; letter on the massacre, 319; supt. of College lands, 336; supt. of iron works, 338.
 Sandys, Sir Edwin, on Indian education, 105; and Leyden people, 124; elected Treasurer of Virginia Company, 143-145; meeting at his house to devise a seal, 153; letter about London children, 161; and Sec. Calvert, 162; retiring speech of, 179; hated by King James, 185; readiness to serve Virginia Company, 189; denies a rumor, 186; drafts a new patent, 205; obliged to leave London, 418.
 Sassafras wanted, 357, 373.
 Savage, Thomas, 92.
 Saw mills, 227, 239, 270.
 School, East India, at Charles City, 254; usher for, 256.
 Scrivener, Mr., of Virginia Council, 20.
 Sea Flower brings news of Massacre, 319.
 Seal cut for Virginia, 155.
 Seed sent to Virginia, 270; scarcity of, 275.
 Sermon, donation for yearly, 259.

- Sermon, Rev. John Davenport to preach, 260; Rev. John Donne, to preach, 360; annual, postponed, 382.
 Shakespeare's Tempest, 54.
 Sharp, Capt., killed, 341.
 Sharp, Lt., in command at Jamestown, 111.
 Sharpless, Thomas, his lottery prize, 66.
 Shaw, Wm., captain of London Merchant, 171.
 Sheffield, Lord, 186, 240, 292.
 Sheffield plantation, killed at, 339-40.
 Shelley, Walter, 140.
 Shepherd, Thomas, 240, 250, 273, 311.
 Sherley Hundred, 110.
 Sherley, Sir Robert, 52.
 Ship, Abigail, 324, 362.
 Blessing, 31, 36, 37.
 Bona Nova, 174, 180, 223, 241, 261, 266, 272, 293.
 Bona Venture, 181, 200.
 Bonny Bess, 391.
 Charles, 265.
 Darling, 261.
 Deliverance, 40, 44.
 Diamond, 30, 31.
 Discovery, 40, 261, 265, 270.
 Duty, 167, 181, 241, 373.
 Eleanor, 120.
 Elizabeth, 75.
 Falcon, 171, 181, 200.
 Garland, 181.
 George, 114, 174, 179, 233, 241, 292.
 Gift, 149.
 God Speed, 5.
 Hercules, 36, 37.
 Hopewell, 261, 266, 272.
 James, 392.
 John and Francis, 75.
 Jonathan, 181, 200, 219, 373.
 Lion, 31.
 London Merchant, 171, 181, 200, 373.
 Marmaduke, 233, 245, 267.
 Mary and John, 241.
 Neptune, 114.
 Patience, 40.
 Plough, 53.
 Return, 382.
 Royal James, 252, 269.
 Sarah, 75.
 Sarah or Susan Constant, 5, 17.
 Sea Adventure, 30, 31.
 Sea Flower, 317, 319.
 Southampton, 347.
 Star, 52.
 Swallow, 30, 33.
 Ship, Swan, of Barnstable, 181, 200.
 Tiger, 245, 263, 267.
 Treasurer, 75, 120.
 Trial, 171, 181, 200.
 True Love, 365, 392.
 Virginia, 30.
 Warwick, 241, 249, 263, 267, 274, 355, 371.
 Wm. and Thomas, 119.
 Ships, arrivals in three years, 330.
 Ship building, 238, 268, 303, 373.
 Ships sent to Virginia, 1619, 181.
 Sickness, great, in Virginia, 174.
 Silenus praises wine, 63.
 Silkgrass, 174, 304, 373.
 Silkworm seed, 241, 264, 270, 285; hatched, 372.
 Silkworms, book on, 258, 303.
 Smalley, Captain, 109, 258; widow, 258.
 Smith, Capt. John, suspected, 15; opposes Wingfield, 19; accused of lying, 20; sent to England, 32; as member of Virginia Company, 209, 210, 214, 215, 216, 385; notice of, 211; described by Fuller, 214.
 Smith, Capt. Matthew, 30, 53, 55, 60.
 Smith, Roger, 49, 174, 201, 376.
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 74, 75, 117, 174, 177, 192; retiring speech, 144; Virginia Company, dissatisfied with, 144; Virginia Company meets at his house, 144, 151, 188; and college money, 156; cursed by Virginians, 403, 409; destroys Virginia Company, 419.
 Smith, Thomas, captain of Hopewell, 261.
 Snocade, John, 404.
 Somers, Sir George, 3, 29, 40, 49, 50; wrecked, 57; death of, 58.
 Somers Islands Company, 55, 58, 199.
 Southampton, Henry, Earl of, aids Gosnold, 1; patron of letters, 1; asks for flying squirrels, 32; describes Bermudas, 54; and Cape Cod fishery, 165; elected Treasurer Virginia Company, 189, 190; reelected in 1621, 213; reelected in 1622, 300; repels insolence, 383.
 Southampton Hundred, 119, 182; slain at, 344.
 Southerne, Mr., 369.
 South Sea discovery, 65, 338.
 Spence, Ensign, 189, 344.
 Spilman, Capt., degraded, 171; slain, 344.

Stacy, Robert, 140.
 Stage plays, 61.
 Stallenge, Capt., killed in a quarrel, 163.
 Staple commodities to be raised, 313, 351, 373.
 Staple of News by Jonson, 100.
 Staples, Rev. Robert, 259; trial sermon, 379.
 Starvation described, 408.
 Stiles, Mr., 300.
 Stith's History, 24.
 Stockton, Rev. Mr., 2.
 Store house first built, 18.
 Strachey, Wm., Sec. of Lord Delaware, 43; on Roanoke plantation, 16; describes Pocahontas, 84, 85.
 Supper, annual, 361; venison for, 361.
 Symonds, Rev. Wm., sermon of, 25.

T.

Tamocomo, brother-in-law of Pocahontas, 97.
 Tappahamock Indians, 364.
 Tenants, care of College, 230; minister for, 231; altering terms of, 304; Governor's, 280; Treasurer, 281.
 Terra Lemnia, 338.
 Terra Mariæ or Maryland, 301.
 Thompson, Maurice, 404.
 Thorpe, George, member of Virginia Company, 151; deputy of College lands, 231, 236; instructions from London, 228; visits Indian chiefs, 279; talks on religion and astronomy, 279; killed by Indians, 319.
 Throgmorton, Sir Wm., 108.
 Tichfield, grave of Southampton, 190.
 Tiger, ship, taken by Turks, 276.
 Tindall, Robert, captain of Delaware, 44.
 Tobacco, number of pounds for a wife, 235, 246; losses on, 238; not to be paid for goods, 243; trade frauds in, 244; price of, 277; excessive planting of, 282, 394; bad exported, 306; sole importation of, 323; contract annulled, 394; poor crop, 371; for maids, 374.
 Tracy, Wm., grant of land to, 168; member of council, 182, 189; daughter killed, 320.
 Transportation of a deer stealer, 164; of dissolute, 154; of London children, 158; of maids for wives, 158; of Dan Francke, a convict, 347.

Treasurer's statement in 1619, 183.
 Truelove, Rowland, patent to, 261.
 Tucker, Daniel, arrives in Virginia, 22; clerk of the store, 43; asks reward for service, 146.
 Tucker, William, Captain, 189; at Rappahanock, 364.
 Tue, Mary, executrix of Lieut. Crouch, 314.
 Tufton, Sir Nicholas, 186, 266.

U.

Unmasked face of our Colony in Virginia, an answer to Capt. Nat. Butler, 414.

V.

Virginia Company, first charter, 3; orders for first voyage, 4; sell ambergris, 55; sell Bermudas, 53; answer Capt. Somers, 57; lotteries, 65; to Gov. Argall, 114; to Lord Delaware, 117; to Leyden congregation, 128; revoke Peirce's patent, 133; election in 1619, 146; legal seal of, 155; transport children, 160; transports convicts, 162, 163, 164; members published, 167; hated by King James, 185; letters from, 114, 117, 228, 238, 241, 263, 267, 302, 323; letters to, 169, 260, 287, 298; poor opinion of Capt. Martin, 289; relative to King's Forest, 312; urges extermination of Indians, 322, 348; election of, 1623, postponed, 380; factions in, 385, 390; and Gondomar, 385; debate on salaries, 385; petition to king, 387, 389; books demanded, 412; Att'y General against, 413; refuse to give up charter, 414; refer to House of Commons, 415; charter declared void, 417.
 Virginia, Lord Delaware's description, 45; population in 1616, 111; population in 1619, 181; first legislature, 189; coat of arms, 154; abundant crop, 170; legislative acts of, 173, 175; great mortality in, 174; education in, 254, 287; massacre, 293, 317, 339; receives guns from king, 364; censured for massacre, 365, 367; planters answer Butler's slanders,

Virginia, continued —

895; assembly's tragical relation, 407.

W.

Wallis, Edward, a murderer, 221.
 Walloons desire to go to Virginia, 240.
 Walters, Edward, plantation, slain at, 346.
 Ward, Capt., 140.
 Ward, Mr., 182.
 Warman, Capt., 21.
 Warrosquoyak, Puritans at, 194; Fort near, 375; Indians, 364.
 Warwick, Earl of, 120, 151, 191, 266, 373, 292; opposes Sandys, 411; quarrels with Cavendish, 412; prepares to fight, 412; arrested at Ghent, 413.
 Washer, Ensign, 140.
 Waterhouse, Edward, proposed for secretary, 215; narrative of massacre, 317.
 Webb, Capt. George, 43, 111.
 Wenman, Sir Ferd., 43.
 Wentworth, Sir Thos., joy at dissolution of Virginia Company, 417.
 West, Francis, brother of Lord Delaware, 31, 292; at Jamestown, 111; Capt. John, 364.
 West Hundred, described by Rolfe, 110.
 Weston, Thomas, and Leyden people, 181.
 Weymouth, Capt. Geo., 3.
 Whitaker, Lieut., 231.
 Whitaker, Rev. Alex., son of a Puritan, 78; his Good News, 78-81; drowned, 82, 118.
 White, Rev. Andrew, S. J., 248.
 White, Rev. Thomas, 248.
 Wickham, Rev. Mr., 109, 189.
 Widow sent for marriage, 234.
 Wife, said to have been eaten, 83; price of, in tobacco, 234, 246; clothing of, taxed, 141.
 Will, Robert, 43.
 Willis, Mr., 194.
 Wincopp, John and Leyden, people, 128, 182; does not go to America, 128.

Wincopp, Samuel, Rev., 128.
 Wincopp, Thomas, 128.
 Wingfield, Edward Maria, 3; ancestry, 15; first President of Virginia, 16; his Discourse, 16; defends Jamestown, 17; his enemies, 19; returns to England, 20; answers his foes, 20, 21; money subscribed by, 167.
 Winstone, Dr. Thomas, 167, 168, 169, 233, 240, 250.
 Winwood, Ambassador at Hague, 81.
 Wiseman, Richard, 194.
 Wolstenholme, Sir John, 117, 125, 144, 250, 300.
 Wolstenholme, town, 247.
 Wood, John, shipwright, 192.
 Wood, Thos., brings Irish cattle, 196, 198.
 Woodall, Mr., abuse of Virginia Co., 193; libels Sir E. Sandys, 198; his cattle, 307, 373.
 Worslip, Sir Richard, 194.
 Wrote, Mr., 233, 240, 253, 260, 273, 385, 386, 418.
 Wroth, John, 151, 169.
 Wroth, Mr., 183, 233.
 Wroth, Sir Thos., his poem, 132, 169;
 Wyatt, Ralph, marries widow Button, 223.
 Wyatt, Rev. Haut, at Jamestown, 222; sketch of, 223.
 Wyatt, Sir Francis, Governor, 203, 223, 227, 232, 266, 267, 269, 286, 322, 376, 384; sketch of, 204; wife of, 384.
 Wynoak, plantation slain at, 343.
 Wynoaks, attacked, 366.

Y.

Yeadley, Gov., 110, 120, 134, 138, 149, 174, 203, 286, 354, 365; described, 135; convenes first legislature, 139; builds first mill, 233.
 Yeadley, Lady Temperance, his wife, 142; her sons, 143.
 Yeadley, plantation, slain at, 340, 343; death of, 142.
 Yeadley, Ralph, apothecary, 173.

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